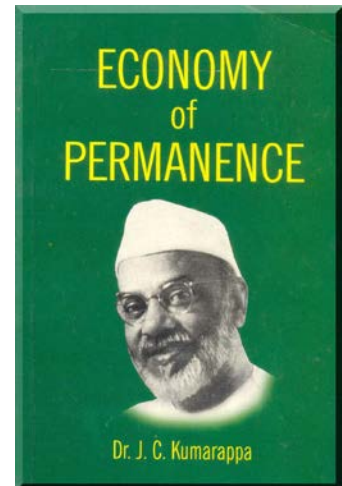


Economy of Permanence

[A quest for a social order based on non-violence]

By: J. C. Kumarappa

With a foreword from: M. K. Gandhi



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FOREWORD

Like this brochure on the 'PRACTICE & PRECEPTS OF JESUS' Dr. Kumarappa's on 'THE ECONOMY OF PERMAENCE' is a jail production. It is not as easy to understand as the first. It needs careful reading twice or thrice if it is to be fully appreciated. When I took up the manuscript I was curious to know what it could contain. The opening chapter satisfied my curiosity and led me on to the end without fatigue and yet with profit. This doctor of our village industries shows that only through them we shall arrive at the economy of permanence in the place of that of the fleeting nature we see around us at present. He tackles the question - shall the body triumph over and stifle the soul or shall the latter triumph over and express itself through a perishable body which, with its few wants healthily satisfied, will be free to subserve the end of the imperishable soul? This is 'Plain living and High thinking'.

On the train to Bombay. 20-8-1945.

PREFACE

In a previous study, 'WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT?' the conditions prevailing in India in comparison with the orders obtaining in leading western countries were considered. In this booklet, an attempt is made to present a positive outlook that will suit the genius of the people of our land.

Religion, as practised today, is largely institutional and ritualistic. It has lost its grip over the everyday actions of men. Hence there are many who have lost faith in it and regard it as a superstition to be shunned. As the natural consequence of excluding religion from life, economics has been divorced from moral considerations on the plea of business being business. In the traditional archives of knowledge, religion, sociology and economy have all been reserved their separate and exclusive spheres. Man has been divided into various watertight compartments. The left hand is not to know what the right does. Nature does not recognise such divisions. She deals with all life as a whole. Hence, in this little book an attempt is made to co-ordinate the various principles governing different departments, and to focus them all on, the many problems of everyday life of man as an integral undivided unit.

The object of the present quest is to relate our spiritual and higher self back to life so that the daily routine of mundane existence may be regulated in accordance with the dictates of our better self, and to find a way of life that will lend purpose for existence and action to such as have no use for the present day traditional religion because of its other worldiness from humdrum everyday life. An effort is here made to bring all walks of life into alignment with the universal order. What men of religion term 'eternal life' or 'Union with the Godhead' has been interpreted in relation to the everyday life of man in the title of this book as 'The Economy of Permanence'.

The approach may be novel, but if it sets others thinking on the ways and means of achieving the end aimed at, this venture would be amply justified.

Part I of this book was written during my incarceration in Jubbulpore Central Jail and before the Second part could be tackled I was set at liberty on grounds of health.

I am thankful to Gandhiji for his criticism and suggestions and his Foreword.

I am indebted to Artist Madhav Satwalekar who has kindly provided pictorial representations to elucidate some passages.

24th August, 1945.

Maganvadi, Wardha, C. P.

J. C. Kumarappa

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In this edition Part I remains much the same.

Part II-Man in Gregation-has been added as a separate volume. This part deals with activities of man as a Member of Society. Taken by itself this part may be considered a plan for the Development of the country on the basis of non-violence. It treats about planning, Agriculture, Village Industries, Exchange, Democracy and the State in relation to Key Industries, Monopolies and Natural Resources. It indicates the services that the State should render to the citizens.

It is hoped that this addition will give a complete picture of life in a community working towards non-violence and peace.

-J. C. Kumarappa

Maganvadi, Wardha, C. P.

THIRD EDITION

This is only a reprint of the Second Edition.

-J. C. Kumarappa

9th February, 1957,

Kallupatti, S. I.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTORY

What is permanent? What is transient?

Apart from God there is nothing that can be said to be permanent. He is the only being with neither beginning nor end. Human intellect being limited, it is not possible for it to comprehend fully what is everlasting in the absolute sense. Such a conception refers to conditions beyond Time and Space. The laws of God, Truth and Love, are absolutes being unchangeable and permanent in the strictest sense of the term.

Within Time and Space there is no such thing as absolute permanency. Everything begins somewhere and ceases to exist sometime. The interval that separates the two moments varies. In some cases it is short, and in others it is long. A flower blooms in the morning, by the evening it is faded and gone. Its life is but a few hours. Tortoises are reputed to live for centuries, while a unit of millions of years is required to compute the age of our universe. So in comparison with the flower, the tortoise is said to be long-lived while the world is Permanent. It is all a matter of relative terms.

Nature (when it is not a term convertible with God) is limited by Time and Space. It came into existence once in the remote past and will cease to be sometime in the future. Human life rarely reaches even a hundred years while the unit to reckon the life of Nature will run into astronomical figures. Hence the life of man is said to be Transient in comparison with that of Nature which is Permanent. It is in this relative sense that we speak of 'An Economy of Permanence'.

SECTION ONE

NATURE

I. NATURE

There are certain things found in Nature which apparently have no life and do not grow or increase, and so get exhausted or consumed by being used. The world possesses a certain stock or reservoir of such materials as coal, petroleum, ores or minerals like iron, copper, gold etc. These being available in fixed quantities, may be said to be 'transient' while the current of overflowing water in a river or the constantly growing timber of a forest may be considered 'permanent' as their stock is inexhaustible in the service of man when only the flow or increase is taken advantage of.

In animate life, the secret of nature's permanency lies in the cycle of life by which the various factors function in close cooperation to maintain the continuity of life. A grain of wheat falls from the parent plant. It gets buried in the earth, sends out roots into the soil and through them absorbs nutritive elements with the aid of moisture and the heat of the sun. It sprouts up into a plant by this process. The plant shoots out leaves which help to gather nourishment from the air and light, as the roots do from the soil. When some of these leaves 'die' they fall to the ground and are split up or decomposed into the various elements which the parent plant had absorbed from the soil, air, and light. This is again used to nourish the next generation of plants. The bees etc. while gathering the nectar and pollen from these plants for their own good, fertilize the flowers and the grains, that are formed in consequence, again become the source of life of the next generation of plants. When ready, this seed falls to the ground and comes to life with the help of the soil that has already been enriched by fallen leaves of the previous generation of plants. Thus a fresh cycle of life begins once again. In this manner, life in nature goes on, and as long as there is no break in this cycle, the work in nature continues endlessly, making nature permanent.

II. WORK AND WAGES IN NATURE

'Work' in nature consists in the effort put forth by the various factors-insentient and sentient-which cooperate to complete this cycle of life. If this cycle is broken, at any stage, at any time, consciously or unconsciously, violence results as a consequence of such a break. When violence intervenes in this way, growth or progress is stopped, ending finally in destruction and waste. Nature is unforgiving and ruthless. Therefore, self-interest and self-preservation demand complete non-violence, co-operation and submission to the ways of nature if we are to maintain permanency by non-interference with and by not short-circuiting the cycle of life.

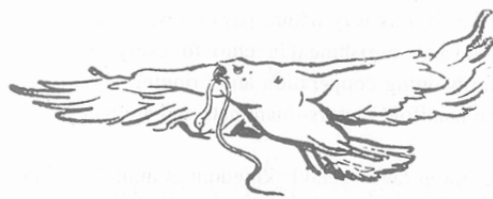
Even sentient creatures have to fall in line and function properly in their own sphere if they are to exist. An earthworm by its movements in the earth, looses the soil allowing it to absorb air and water. When it feeds on the earth containing vegetable matter, it thoroughly mixes the various constituent parts in its stomach and throws out a well prepared and fertilized soil- -worm casts- from which plants can draw their own nutriment easily. ¹Here is a sample of the form of vital co-operation existing between soil, plant and animal life similar to the one where bees and butterflies fertilize the flowers of plants.

In return for such services or 'work' done, the worker unit gets its feed. In this way nature pays its wages honestly in the form of food and nourishment in return for every benefit received by her in obtaining cooperation and bringing about co-ordination of the manifold factors-inanimate and animate-in air, land and water.

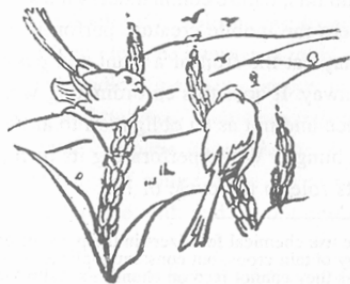
The life in the vegetable kingdom is immobile. The seeds can only fall directly below, near the parent plant or tree. If all seeds fall and germinate around the parent plant it will create a suffocating congestion. It is necessary to broadcast the seed further afield. To do this, nature commandeers the services of birds, animals etc. Here the mobile creature performs a special function. A bird may eat the fruit of a plant and pass out the seed, perhaps miles away. It does this co-ordinating work as a part of its own existence and not as an obligation to

anybody. It eats to satisfy its own hunger. While performing its own primary function it fulfills its role in the cycle of life.

In this manner nature enlists and ensures the co-operation of all its units, each working for itself and in the process helping other units to get along their own too-the mobile helping the immobile, and the sentient the insentient. Thus all nature is dovetailed together in a common cause. Nothing exists for itself. When this works out harmoniously and violence does not break the chain, we have an economy of permanence.



A bird living on other creatures



Birds feeding on ears of corn which they have done nothing to cultivate

TYPES OF ECONOMIES IN NATURE



A bird using a nest built by its own effort

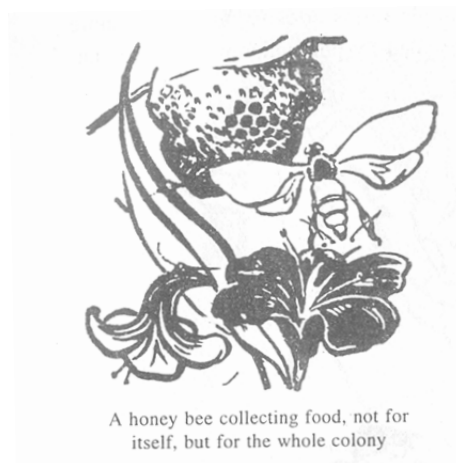
III. TYPES OF ECONOMIES IN NATURE

This complete non-violent co-operation between the various units is not always present in all forms of life. Some units, instead of passing through the different stages in nature drawing their sustenance from the elements and insentient creatures, short-circuit the long process by preying on their fellow creatures. Here too, violence interposes with its accompaniment of destruction.

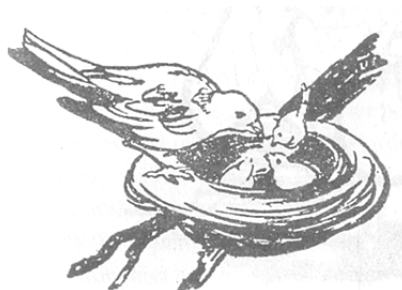
1. **Parasitic Economy:** Some plants live on others and become parasites. Often the host tree, or plant, dies in consequence of all the nourishment drawn by its roots not reaching its various parts, as it is robbed on the way by the parasitic growth. This also leads to violence and death. Among the animals, the sheep eats grass and drinks water and exists non-violently, while the tiger short-circuits the process of nature by feeding on the sheep, drinking its blood, introducing violence and basing its whole existence on it. Here violence becomes an essential part of the life of the tiger.
2. **Predatory Economy:** When a unit in nature benefits itself without conferring a corresponding advantage to another unit it is said to be predatory. A monkey comes into a mango grove, to the existence of which it has not contributed anything by either digging, planting or watering, but enjoys the fruits on the trees. It acts in self-interest but without a contribution. This form of economy may be less violent than the previous one, but nevertheless, it is destructive.
3. **Economy of Enterprise:** Some creatures take what they need while performing some distinct service to the unit from which they derive their benefit, and while thus contributing to the product, they take something that is of their own effort and making. In the case of the honey bees, they fertilize the flowers from which they gather the nectar and pollen, and convert the nectar into honey, and store these products in combs built by themselves with wax produced out of their secretion. These creatures are not parasitic as they help the unit from which they draw benefit instead of killing it. They are also not predatory as they contribute their own share and

effort in the obtaining of the product. They benefit by their own enterprise-institutive though it may be. They are active constructive units.

4. **Economy of Gregation:** Incidentally, it may be observed, that the honey bees do not work for their own respective individual gains but for the common benefit of the whole colony. Here is an extension from self-interest to group-interest and from acting on the immediate urge of present needs to planning for future requirements.



A honey bee collecting food, not for itself, but for the whole colony



The mother bird feeding its young ones, without expecting a reward

5. **Economy of Service:** The highest form of economy in nature is the economy of service, This is the best seen in the relation between the young one and the parent. The mother bird will scour the jungle to feed its young one and risk its life in defending the young from its enemies. It functions neither for its present need nor for its personal future requirement, but projects its activities into the next generation, or generations to come, without looking for any reward. Because of its mother love, it contributes disinterestedly,

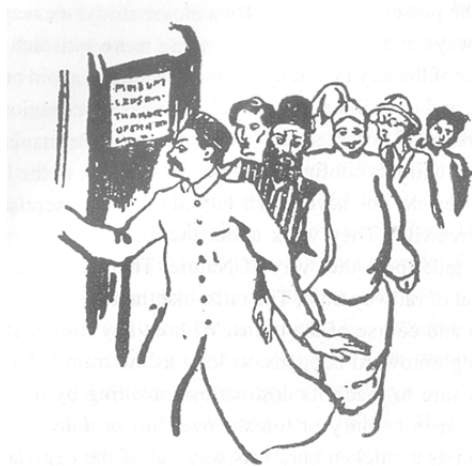
without desire to benefit personally. This comes nearest to what may be called a non-violent economy of permanence.

These pure forms are set out in this chapter in the increasing order of permanence and non-violence.

Out of these five simple forms of economies many more complex types can be obtained by permutations and combinations.



A robber killing a child for its necklace



A pickpocket at work

SECTION TWO
MAN-THE INDIVIDUAL

IV. MAN AND FREEWILL

For the purpose of our study we need not go further into the economies of life governing other orders in nature but confine ourselves to the life of the one creature in the animal kingdom-Man-who has the ability either to make or mar the orderly functioning of Nature. Though such interference as it may suffer from him may be but transient, as Nature is mighty enough to hold its own against man and ultimately have its own way, yet, from time to time, he does upset its even working and cause a jar or jolt, like the present global war. By a closer study, we may be able to find ways and means of co-operating more satisfactorily with the order of the day in nature and thus be able to avoid needless violence and contribute to greater happiness by consciously working towards, if not attaining, an Economy of Permanence.

All other animals conform, more or less rigidly, to the laws of Nature. They do not have much latitude for the exercise of their own 'Freewill'. They work under the dictates of their instinct which tells them the way of Nature. Their path through life is like that of railway train, the rails, like their instinct, guide the direction and course of the trains. Without any further steering, if nothing untoward happens, as long as the train is kept in motion, it is sure to reach its destination travelling by night or day, through open country or forests, over hill or dale.

As soon as a chicken bursts its way out of the egg-shell it runs about in search of food and picks up grains that are good for its nourishment. When fed, it rests under the wings of the mother bird, getting the needed warmth. It is naturally aware of approaching danger and runs to shelter instantly. It never overeats because the food may be palatable, nor goes in pursuit of pleasure to gratify its senses. All such life is controlled by instinct and not conscious volition.

Animals that live close to nature seldom get ill and, even if they do suffer from digestive disturbances occasionally, they eat certain herbs by instinct which set them right either by vomiting or purging.

The main trouble with man arises out of the fact that he is endowed with a 'Freewill' and possesses a wide field for its play. By exercising this gift in the proper way he can consciously bring about a much greater co-operation and co-ordination of nature's units than any other living being. Conversely, by using it wrongly he can create quite a disturbance in the economy of nature and in the end destroy himself.

Instinct was compared to a railroad which unerringly guides the coaches on the track, and does not allow them to stray from the path or course laid out for them. On the other hand, the gift of 'Freewill' allows for freedom of movement. But all movements are not with impunity. It is like being on a bicycle. Theoretically the rider is free to go where he pleases. The steering gear-the handle bar-is fully under his control. Nevertheless, his movements are restricted by the limitations of the machine and the dictates of prudence. He cannot fly into the air, nor float over water. Even on land, he cannot go everywhere. He has to restrict himself to the beaten path or road. If he tries to go across ploughed fields he may be tossed over the bars by the front wheel sticking in the rut or mud. If he tries to go over thorny weeds etc, the tyres will be punctured. Hence, this theoretical freedom has its limitations and a wise rider will keep within bounds. This conscious control of his movement requires discipline and knowledge, without which the machine, which was intended to help him, would be the means of bringing distress. A rider, who uses the known road and travels by light of day, can attain a speed several times that of which he is capable on foot.

In the same way, man can accomplish much more than the instinct-driven animals if he disciplines himself to the use of his 'Freewill' to the proper sphere and does not let his fancy run away with his desires and senses. He can be a conscious agent of his own fate, moving either to success or to destruction by following the light of day within him-his native intelligence combined with the spark of the divine. If he does not do so, like the rider of the bicycle who rushes in the dark or ventures over rough country, he will come to grief and will have to pay the penalty for sinning against his conscience and against nature.

Nature is faithful and submissive to those who respect her; but to those, who of their own 'Freewill' choose to ignore her requirements, she is sterner than justice and visits such transgressors with unrelenting punishments of violence and death as areward for their sins. Instances of these we shall notice in the next chapter.

V. USE AND MISUSE OF FREEWILL

The life of man today is so complex that it is not possible, within the range of this book, to take notice of all the activities resulting from the exercise of his freewill. All that we can attempt is a limited consideration of a few outstanding types, directly arising out of such primary needs as hunger, thirst etc., leaving it to the reader to explore other instances coming within his ken, and to judge for himself what is the proper use of freewill called for, and to what result its improper use leads on each of those occasions.

Hunger: Let us take the highly urgent call-the most elemental instinct of hunger. The physical body of an animal is like a machine. It requires fuel to supply the necessary energy to run it, needs repairs and renewals to replace wear and tear and to maintain it in working condition, and oil to lubricate its various moving parts to lessen friction. These needs are indicated by the feeling of hunger. The sense of smell and taste direct the animal to the things that will satisfy the need and keep the body in sound working order.

Generally, all animals that lead a natural life follow their instincts. They eat to live and are healthy. Man too can do likewise. But, unfortunately for him, in many cases man uses* his freewill, not to appease his hunger but to pander to his palate with overcooked and highly spiced savoury dishes. The enjoyment of taste frequently makes him eat more than is necessary. He lives to eat. This misuse of freewill to gratify his tongue is often the cause of most of the ailments modern man is heir to. Over-eating not only taxes the digestive system and causes irregularities, but, even nutritive food in excess of normal needs, becomes injurious and even poisonous to the system and gives rise to all kinds of disease resulting in much pain and probably in premature death.

Thirst: When food is digested, it is absorbed in liquid form. The nutritive elements are carried by the blood stream to the regions where they are needed and the waste from the body tissues etc., is also transported by it to the lungs, where the waste matter is eliminated by being burnt up with the oxygen of the air we breathe in. In the process, a good deal of the water of the blood

evaporates and goes out of the system as moisture in our breathing and also as perspiration through the action of the skin, which last helps to regulate the temperature of the body. This drying up of the blood is signalled by the feeling of thirst, to quench which a copious in-take of pure, clean water is vital to life, not only as a means of transporting nourishment to the different parts of the body, but also as a cleaning agent of blood, to wash out the impurities in it through the passing out of urine and to air-condition the system with the aid of the skin.

By the wrong use of will, man displaces this natural function by allaying his thirst with intoxicating liquors which introduce various poisons into the system. These deaden the nervous mechanism and retard mental powers and finally become an impediment to sound health. This habit often brings dishonour to the individual and spells ruin to the family. Alcoholism is the root cause of many evils and vices found in modern society.

Smell: Similarly, the sense of which directs the animal to its food, is put to wrong use by inhaling tobacco or taking snuff which, though for the moment may seem to soothe and stimulate, have harmful after effects on the heart and brain.

Sex: Perhaps the strongest of all urges to activity in animal life arises out of the natural mating instinct to ensure reproduction and continuity of the species. Most birds and some animals too, not only centre their colourful, emotional life round this instinct, but also pair off and live in harmony to put forth a joint effort to rear their young ones. In all cases the male and female come together in nature, at certain seasons only, for the sole purpose of reproduction.

By the exercise of his will, man has fallen below brute beasts by putting his physical sex equipment in the service of sensual pleasure, without any intent or desire for progeny. Children, instead of being the only purpose of sexual intercourse, have now become a by-product and in many cases, merely unwanted accidents of such relations. Nature wreaks her vengeance for this departure from her ordinances by visiting the sinners with such dire diseases as

Syphilis, Gonorrhoea etc. Not content with punishing the actual offenders, Nature pursues even the innocent progeny of such transgressors from its path.

Imagination: Among all animals, the faculty to project thought into unseen spheres, through the capacity to imagine and to produce art would appear to be peculiar to man. Instead of exercising this faculty in the natural way, man calls in the aid of stimulants and narcotics like opium, morphia, bhang etc, to cause artificial exhilaration for a time. This drug habit, also like alcoholism, renders the votary unfit for any work and finally brings ruin to the victim and his dependents.

The Creative Faculty: Man comes nearest to his God, the creator, when he utilizes his brain power to marshal mechanical forces to serve his purposes. To do so in a way that will bring blessing and not destruction, he has to follow closely nature's way to get the best out of it. We cannot get the co-operation of nature purely on our own terms. Any attempt to do so will bring violent destruction in its wake.

The natural heat radiated from the sun evaporates sea water. Leaving behind the salt, the fresh water vapour rises high up with the energy absorbed from the sun, forming clouds and condenses into rain in the cold atmosphere above. The rain water falling on the hills has much potential energy in it because of its altitude, as the force of gravity of the earth will draw it down and the land level will direct it back to the sea finally. While it is still on the way to the sea as a river, man can, by his intelligence directed by his will, devise means of harnessing its energy to do much work for him. Early on its course, he can build a dam across the river and store up its potential energy and utilize it as, when and where he needs it, by using simple watermills to grind flour etc., on the spot as they do on the hilly tracts in our country, or by using giant mills convert the energy of the flow of water into electricity which can be taken by cables to places hundreds of miles away for lighting cities, towns and villages on the way and for supplying power to work water-pumps, electric motors etc. After all this, he can still use the outflow water directed through canals, using these as highways for boats etc., and to irrigate his cultivated fields. In this way he can

intercept the current and water of the river to bring wealth and happiness to hundreds, without violence to nature.

This is a commendable use of his freewill so to condition his circumstances as to invite nature to cooperate with him to work out her purposes on her own lines. She then blesses him with fuller and richer life.

On the other hand, man often uses his will to interrupt nature's working. He strays from her paths for his own enjoyment without giving any consideration to her laws. For instance, he may use machines to polish rice and wheat to make these products look pearly white to gratify his ill-conceived and misdirected aesthetic sense. In doing this, he upsets the balance of harmony in nature which has carefully provided in a grain of cereal, the germ to afford nourishment and a coating of bran to aid digestion. Both these essentials are lost in the process of polishing. Nature punishes those who stray from her ways by eating polished grains, by inflicting them with Beriberi disease which causes much pain and death.

Similarly, nature blesses us with wholesome fresh fruits like apples, dates, grapes etc. Instead of eating these as they are, man extracts the juice and ferments it into cider, today, wine etc., to exhilarate him artificially. Here again, as we have already noticed, nature deals heavily with those who try to play pranks with her in this way.

It is in pursuit of pleasure, and not in the fulfillment of nature, that man uses his creative faculties in the manufacture of contraceptives to defeat her provision for the preservation of the species. She comes down on him relentlessly, for excess in this line ultimately leads not only to the loss of the reproductive faculty but also to nervous disorders and derangement of mind.

It is needless to multiply instances of such mal-practices and deviations from nature. Modern life is replete with them. Man, with his undoubted ability and enterprise, is rushing headlong in pursuit of personal pleasure and momentary and fleeting happiness, approaching, at an alarming speed, the precipice which will be his end. In so far as all such misuses of his freewill lead to destruction,

we enjoy a life that is transient. It is contrary to the eternal purposes of nature and ultimately brings violence to the permanent order of things.

The noblest faculty man possesses in excelsus is his capacity for love and to express it in the form of selfless service to his fellows. We see just a glimpse of it in the mother love of nature. In thus serving his fellow beings, he functions in the highest aspect of his life and brings the divine spark to earth. He dedicates his surplus energy and transforms it into the well-being and happiness of those in need of such help and services.

By the misuse of will even this faculty is diverted from the permanent blessed way of love into one of selfishness and greed, being transformed into love of material possessions. His surplus energy is stored up for selfish considerations as accumulated wealth, This will be detrimental to the owner when he gives himself IV to enjoyment and luxurious living; and such riches, when bequeathed, often are the causes of conflict between brothers and not infrequently are the instruments of sending his descendents to ruin.

VI. STAGES OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT-INDIVIDUALS

We have considered in an earlier chapter the various types of economies that are found among sentient creatures, both in the vegetable and animal kingdoms. In this chapter, we shall apply those tests and consideration with special reference to man and see how and where he fits in.

As all other creatures are committed to a set form of life by the guidance of instinct, they cannot rise from one form of economy to another by their own efforts. Their mode of life, from birth to death, falls within a fixed pattern. A member of the parasitic group remain a parasite all its life. It cannot help itself. A leopard can no more change its nature than its spots. It perforce has to prey on other creature or die. It is not responsible for the mode of life it leads. It is impossible for it to advance into either the Economy of Enterprise or that of Gregation.

As we have already noticed, man is distinguished by the gift of freewill, and, how, by the exercise of it, he can change his environment and circumstances with the help of the intelligence he is endowed with. Herein lies the difference between man and the other orders.

A dacoit or robber, who belongs to the parasitic economy, may by changing his mode of life, become less violent and set himself up as an absentee landlord who gets his rent without any personal contribution or labour, thus rising into the next higher Economy of Predation.

Or, he may decide to make an honest living as an agriculturist or as an artisan, putting forth his own effort and making a livelihood by the sweat of his brow. He would then have climbed into the third type-the Economy of Enterprise.

He may become a responsible member of a Hindu joint family, working for the dependent member and sharing the income he enjoys with all the members. He would have then reached the Economy of Gregation.

By developing a deep love for his fellowmen, he may be transformed into a national worker, spending his best efforts in a noble cause, leading a simple

and frugal life. He would now attain a position in the highest type-the Economy of Service.

All this is within the range of possibility provided the needed self-control and discipline is forthcoming, and the individual submits himself to the law of his being and steers his will power so as to attain that which is highest.

It will be convenient to summarize here the peculiar characteristics of the various economies as they may apply to⁴ man.

Parasitic Economy: Leading type-a robber who murders a child for its ornaments.

1. Selfishness motivated by greed.
2. Intention: benefiting himself regardless of any injury his actions may cause to others.
3. Harming, if not destroying, the source of benefit.
4. Emphasis wholly on one's own rights.
5. Absence of recognition of one's duties.
6. Absence of altruistic values.
7. Productive of violence.

Chief Test: Destruction of source of benefit.

Predatory Economy: Leading type-a pickpocket who robs his victim without making him aware of his loss.

1. Selfishness motivated by desires.
2. Intent on his own benefit and attempts to attain it, if possible without much harm to his victim.
3. Emphasis wholly on rights.
4. Little or no recognition of one's duties.
5. Absence of altruistic values.
6. Productive of violence.

Chief Test: Benefit without contribution.

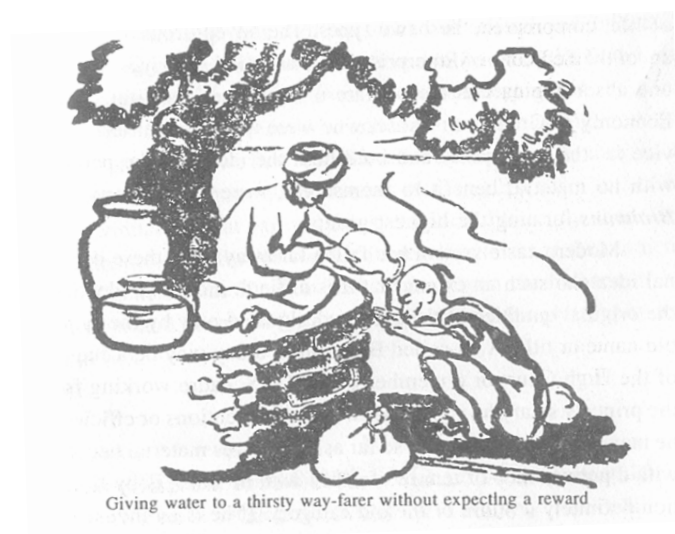
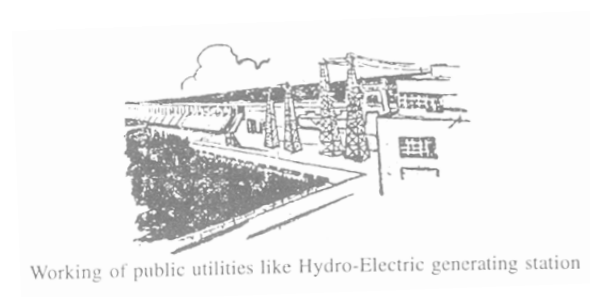
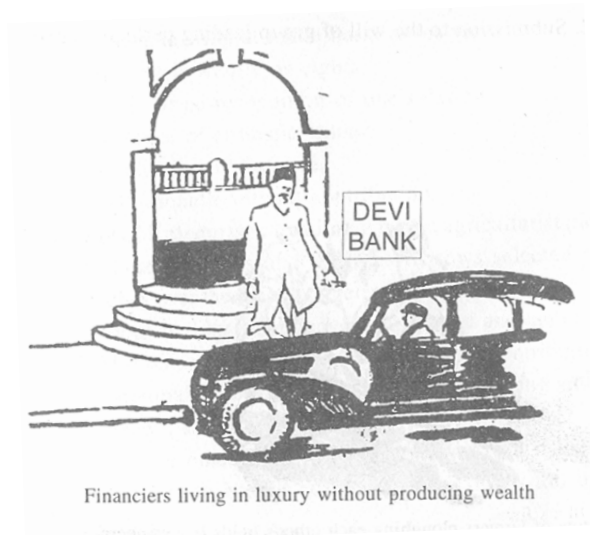
Economy of Enterprise: Leading type-an agriculturist ploughs the land, manures and irrigates it, sows selected seeds, watches over the crop and then reaps and enjoys his harvest.

1. Motivated by enlightened self-interest and ambition.
2. His sense of self-respect demands his contributing his personal labour, thought and effort, taking only the benefit so occasioned.
3. Venturesomeness and a willingness to take risks.
4. A desire to benefit co-workers, and others too, if possible.
5. An attempt at a balance of rights of all.
6. An increasing recognition of duties to others.
7. Based on sense of justice and fairplay.
8. May occasion violence.

Chief Test: Benefit and contribution correlated, with a readiness to take risk.

Economy of Gregation: Leading type-a member of joint family working for the good of the family as a whole. A village punchayat or a Co-operative Society working for the group it represents.

1. Motivated not by individual self-interest but by the common interests of the group.
2. Submission to the will of group leading perhaps to even self-abnegation and sacrifice of personal interests.
3. Emphasis on the duties to the group.
4. One's contribution being regarded more important than one's share of benefit.
5. Based on altruistic values.
6. May lead to violence to those outside the group.



Chief Test: Benefit to the group rather than to individual member.

Economy of Service: Leading type-a relief worker.

1. Motivated by the good of others even if the work be seemingly detrimental to self-interest.
2. Pressing forward to perform one's duties unconscious of one's rights.
3. Based on love and deep desire to serve without reward.
4. Brings non-violence and peace and makes for permanence.

Chief Test: Contribution without regard to any benefit received by the worker.

In every group of human beings community or nation, we come across individuals that fall into these various economies. In our own land, the ancient *Varnashram Dharma* was based on a recognition of these types. The *Sudras*, who are happy to serve as long as their animal are met and are assured of an even course of life, comprise the first two types. The adventurous *Vaishyas* are of the Economy of Enterprise. The Patriotic *Kshatriyas*, whose one absorbing care is the welfare of the State, constituted the Economy of Gregation. Those, who were to render selfless service to the community and hold high the ideals of the people with no material benefit to themselves, were the propertyless *Brahmins* forming the highest group.

Modern caste system has fallen far away from these original ideals to such an extent that it is difficult indeed to identify the original qualities of the groups designated now by the same old name or title. A so-called Brahmin of today may be a Judge of the High Court or a member of the I.C.S. cadre working for the princely salary he is paid. However conscientious or efficient he may be, such a person, in so far as he receives material benefit with a permanency of tenure of office with no risks, is by function definitely a Sudra of the old category. If he is an industrial magnate he is a Vaishya. A selfless political leader, possessed by the ideal of freedom for his people, like Lokmanya Tilak, regardless of cost, is a Kshatriya *par excellence*. One, who pursues an ideal

ardently regardless of consequences or results, emphasizing the purity of the mean used, rather than merely the attainment of the end, like Gandhiji, may be termed a real Brahmin.

Possibly, to meet the conditions then prevailing, the framers of the Varnashram Dharma made it hereditary, thus rendering it rigid. The exercise of the freewill of the individual in the choice of a profession or calling was strictly limited and curbed by the accident of his birth. Hence it is that it has become a total misfit in the modern world with its fluidity of employment and occupations, mobility of labour force, rapidity of communications, facilities for acquiring skill and technique of work and universality of education. Whatever conditions may exist, the functional grouping will always hold. Every encouragement needs to be given to those of a lower order who endeavour to rise to a higher stage.

The types we have considered are not always as distinct as would appear from our treatment of them. Even the self-same individual may, at various times, function differently according to the nature of the motive that impels him to act of the moment. The general classification will depend upon the balance of his actions and the goal of life which determines his philosophy and outlook.

VII. STAGES OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT (Contd.)-

GROUPS OR NATIONS

Just as an individual can pass from one type of economy into another, so also a group of individuals, or even the human race as a whole, can advance collectively from one type of economy to another, emphasizing in its collective life the peculiar characteristics of the economy to which it belongs. Therefore, it is possible to determine what stage of human development a certain group or nation has attained by examining the traits that its collective life and its relationship to other groups or nations discloses.

For the purposes of our analysis we may divide the devious route civilization has followed into three stages-the primitive or the animal stage, the modern or the human stage, and the advanced or spiritual stage. With reference to five types of economies we previously considered, it may be taken generally that the first two types of economies, viz. the 'Parasitic' and the 'Predatory' characterize the primitive or animal stage of civilization, the next two, viz. that of 'Enterprise' and 'Gregation' indicate the modern or human stage and the last, viz. that of 'Service' the advanced or the spiritual stage. The first is definitely transient, and violent, the second also is transient with a large element of violence, although with a growing desire for permanency and nonviolence, while the last makes for peace, permanence and nonviolence.

The Primitive or the Animal Stage: Those in this group may be parasitic in their relations to other groups or nations. A parasite does not consider the rights of others or how it comes by what it needs, or what results follow from its actions. Amongst animals, a tiger does not sit down and weigh the emotions of the lamb it is about to pounce upon. It is only intent on appeasing its own hunger for the moment. Similarly the hunter or fisher, without any pangs of conscience, kills his game or catch to satisfy his immediate need. In the same manner, any national economy, that depends for its existence on the injury or ruin of another group, is parasitic in its very nature.

In ancient days, the Greek and Roman Empires, which owed their grandeur to the tributes of other peoples and were based on a system of slavery were parasitic.

At the present time, all national organizations that depend upon colonial production or on exploited labour are Parasitic. The British Opium Trade with China, the British Slave Traffic with Southern States of America, King Leopold's exploitation of the West African Estates, and the dependence of British manufactures on Indian markets are parasitic in that they spell ruin to their victims.

There are others who are like the monkey, which enjoys the fruits to produce which it has done nothing. But still, it does not injure the tree that yields the fruit but leaves it unharmed so that it may produce some more. The monkey is predatory.

In ancient history, there were men like Nadir Shah, who plundered temples and carried away surplus idle wealth but did not affect the wealth producing capacity of the citizens. Their raids were predatory.

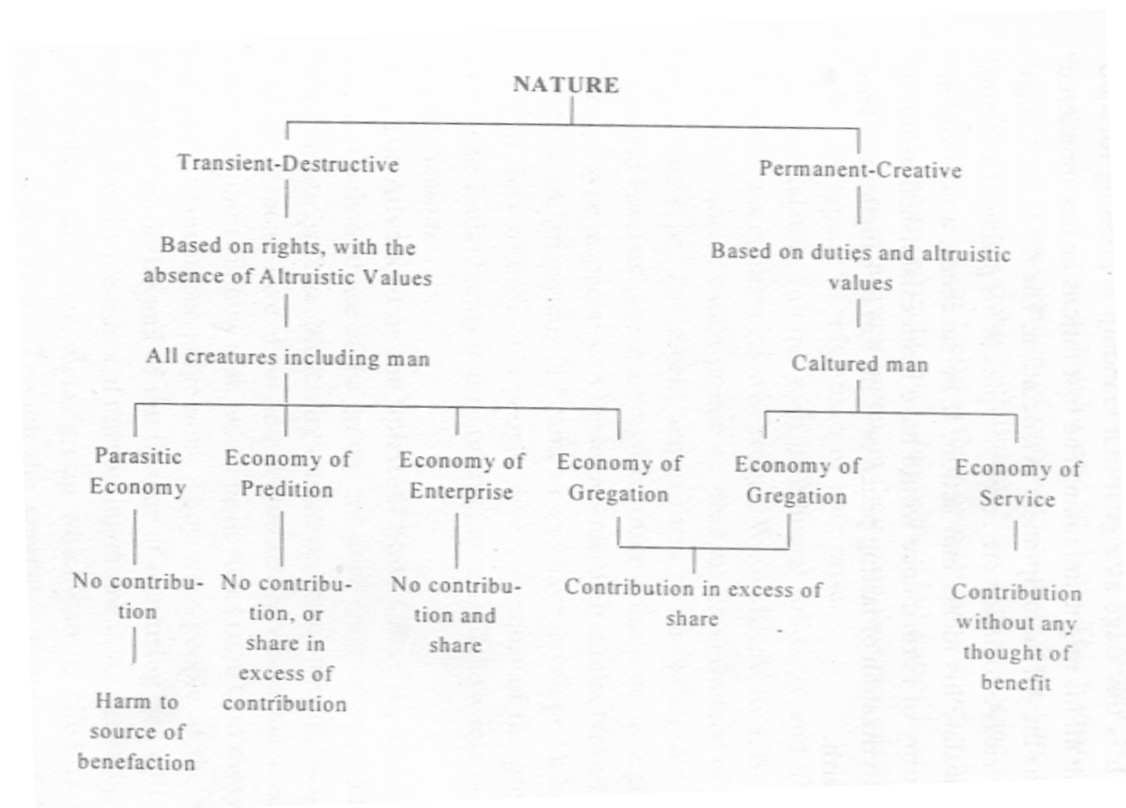
Modern financiers of New York, who hold the South American republics in tribute, are of this type. Shareholders of present day joint stock companies, who draw their dividends without contributing any personal effort in production, are also predatory. They share in the benefit but do not help in the working. Similarly, the great cartels, trusts and combines, which through monopolistic control, get a greater share of benefit in proportion to their contribution, are largely predatory.

The Modern or Human Stage: The former stage was based on a purely self-centred outlook and on rights. This human stage shows sign of recognition of one's duties and often there is an attempt to balance rights with duties. Nations in this stage strive to be content with the fruits of their own labour without injuring their neighbour. Agricultural civilizations of India and China, supported largely by artisans pursuing their vocations peacefully for profit, are typical of this group of enterprise.

The Islamic culture, with its ethnical solidarity and unity, where there is no distinction of colour, White, Black, Red, Brown or Yellow, nor of estate-prince or peasant, is definitely of the Gregarious type. The recent acquisitions to this group are the Nazis and Fascists. These are highly group-conscious, though of a violent type, especially to those outside their circle. Nevertheless, they are gregarious in character and have developed a high sense of duty to their own people. Every member of the group merges his individuality in the general interests of the whole body or organization.

The Advanced or the Spiritual State: Here the sense of duty, not only to those of the group, but to all creatures, pervades the whole atmosphere. Most religions are levers to attain this stage. They all advocate love of our neighbours and service of the needy. They also point out how man, when he deviates from God's ways, sins and comes under judgement. They warn people of the allurements of desire and of the danger of exercising our will to subserve wordly pleasures of the passing moment. As yet we have not evolved any large social group which can be cited as an example of this order. Though the ancient conception of the Brahmins was an approach to this stage, yet, the modern sect, so called, is far away from the ideal.

It is this stage as a goal that Gandhiji is pressing forward to with all his might and main. The institutions he has sponsored such as the All India Spinners' Association, The AM India Village Industries Association etc., are examples of his practical attempts to translate his ideals into action. If he succeeds, a non-violent Economy of Permanence would have been established ushering in a civilization of lasting peace or Ram Raj or Kingdom of God on earth.



VIII. SCALES OF VALUES

We appraise various things by comparing them with certain known or well recognized standards. There are also different methods of measuring various kinds of goods; we reckon some by number, others by weight, quantity or length and so on., Solids like wheat, gur, iron are measured by weight-tons, maunds, etc.; wood or timber as so many cubic feet; bamboos by their number, cloth by the yard, paper by the ream; *bidis* or cigarettes by *katas* or packets, while liquids like oil are measured by the seer and kerosene oil, ink etc. by the number of containers, as so many bottles. Each standard has its unit accurately defined and the articles to which they are applied are also well known and accepted. Nobody will go into a shop and order a thousand grains of wheat!

Nature of Approach: In so far we judge things in relation to ourselves we say it is self-centred and when measured against an external or abstract ideal and in relation to others it is said to be altruistic. Most animals also judge for themselves but their considerations are always self-centred i.e., in regard to the immediate use of a thing for themselves. They do not have altruistic valuations. Similarly, primitive man also has not much use for altruistic values. It is the cultured or more advanced man that can take a detached view of things. In fact, we may well say that a man is known by the standard of value he uses.

INDIVIDUAL OR SELF-CENTRED VALUES

Types of Values: In all walks of life we are constantly called upon to judge men and things. We state that the water from a well is fresh and pure; we may declare a flower to be beautiful and we may pronounce a certain person's conduct as noble and good. These decisions all indicate certain standards behind them. When a man is known to judge correctly always, we hold him to be a man of discernment— that is, he uses appropriate and accurate standards of value. We may group these standards as physical or material, mental or cultural and spiritual standards.

A merchant will value articles by the profit they will fetch in his trade. A worker, living on the margin of subsistence, will look at things from the use to which he can put them to satisfy his crying needs— food, clothing and shelter. An artist will have an eye for beauty.

Valuation based on Time, Fame, Acquisitiveness etc.: The guide at the Cairo Museum values everything from the point of view of time. He will tell the tourist that this Mummy of Tutakhamen is so many thousands of years old, and that of Ramseys belongs to a period so many millenia before Christ. He will fondly expect his visitors to be highly impressed by the age of things.

At Rome or Florence, the guide will point out frescoes, mural paintings etc. by the masters like Michael Angelo or Ruebons and the visitor will have to accept that as a stamp of excellence.

The Parisians pride themselves as being fine connoisseurs of the beautiful gardens, buildings, art and literature.

The visitor to the British Museum will be introduced to varieties of exhibits brought from China, India, Persia or Peru and will have to be greatly impressed by the world wide acquisitiveness of the British.

As one cranes up one's neck from the bottom of the streets of New York to see the upper end of buildings touching the sky, the megaphone will declare the cost of each building in terms of millions of dollars. The impecunious foreigner will be struck dumb, not at the hoary past, nor at the renowned architect nor at the beauty or rarity of the exhibit but at the display of colossal wealth.

No one standard is applied exclusively in any one case but the main emphasis is shown by the special importance attached to the particular standard employed. The pilgrim to the Taj Mahal does not wax eloquent over the quality of marble used. Are there not better marbles at Carrara? The name of the architect may not even be known to him. The age of the noble edifice is not awe- inspiring; but it is the general effect, the sight of the building in its setting, which creates on one an impression that is noteworthy, and calls forth spontaneous admiration without anyone having to recite laboriously its various high points.

Here we have given illustrations of many standards of values based on different considerations other than the material intrinsic value, like that of a gold-ring set with diamonds, exhibited for sale in the show case of a merchant. A picture by notable artist does not owe its value to the cost of materials- canvass and paint—which have gone into the making of it. Even an old, worn out shoe that belonged to a father or mother may be treasured by a fond son or daughter. This may not represent any marketable value but still it has a value all its own to the particular person.

In individual or self-centred values there may be no uniformity of intensity with which a thing may be desired. The value of a thing may differ between persons. Even a universal article, standardized like money, will not necessarily represent equality in satisfaction. A rupee in the hands of a farmer may represent one day's food for his family. The same rupee, with a clerk in a city, may be the satisfaction of seeing a cinema show. While in the hands of a richman it may only mean a tip to a waiter or to a taxi driver. From this it may be inferred that the mere transfer of a rupee from a rich man to a farmer or poorer person will of itself enhance the satisfaction it is capable of affording. And conversely, a rupee taken from a poor man and passed on to a richer man reduces the satisfaction it can give.

Even in the hands of the same individual a thing does not always represent the same value. A boy may have seven *jilabis*. Each *jilabi* may be equal in weight and contents, yet the satisfaction one *jilabi* will bring will not be the same as another. He will eat the first *jilabi* with much relish. The next one or two he will still enjoy. Then with each additional *jilabi* eaten, the desire for more will diminish until it reaches a point where it will be nauseating to think of having any more. So the value of a *jilabi* to the boy goes on decreasing as the number consumed increases. This is the same phenomenon we noticed with the rich man's rupee. The more he has the less value a unit will represent.

Now, when a boy has eaten say 6 *jilabi* and his desire for more has decreased while his thirst for water has increased, he would gladly swop the seventh *jilabi* for a glass of water with another boy who may have a profit of it. That glass of

water will represent greater satisfaction to him than the seventh *jilabi*, while to the second boy *that jilabi*, which is first to him and seventh to the other, will bring much relish. The exchange of goods — the seventh *jilabi* for a glass of water— brings more satisfaction, profit or gain to both the boys, and if we can measure the happiness the two boys had before and after the transaction, we shall find that though the sum total of goods with both the boys remains the same, yet the aggregate happiness after the exchange is much greater than before it. This is the basis of all trade. Both the buyer and seller gain mutually. Nobody's loss should be another's gain.

ALTRUISTIC AND OBJECTIVE STANDARDS

Human Values: Because of the confusion money exchange causes we find ourselves in many anomalous situations. Our economic system gets a lopsided development. Our lands are being shifted from food cultivation to the production of raw materials for mills. People are starving due to the shortage of rice, while rice lands are made to produce oil for soap-making. In several Malabar villages paddy lands acreage has been reduced by 20 per cent and coconut groves have been planted in those fields. These coconuts are sent to the mills for soap-making. Virtually therefore, rice lands have been turned into 'Soap-producing lands' while the poor people are facing starvation and malnutrition. The existence of such a state of affairs proves that money values are not dependable scales of human need.

An economy that is based purely on monetary or material standards of value, does not take in a realistic perspective in Time and Space. This shortcoming leads to a blind alley of violence and destruction from which there is no escape. The more advanced in culture a person becomes, the less will he be guided by such short-sighted perishable standards of value. To lead to any degree of permanence, the standard of value itself must be based on something apart from the person valuing, who is after all perishable. Such a basis, detached and independent of personal feelings, controlled by ideals which have their roots in the permanent order of things, are objective and so are true and

reliable guides. An economy, based on such values, will be a prerequisite to the achievement of permanence.

Moral Values: An individual, who follows a moral code, applies standards which have no material basis. A robber murders a child, takes away its necklace and offers it for sale. Who will care to buy that necklace knowing the history behind it that ornament represents, not merely so many tolas of gold, but the blood of the innocent child. No one who abhors the murder of a child would wish to possess that article, however cheaply it may be offered.

Similarly, moral values are always attached to every article exposed for sale in the market. We cannot ignore such values and say 'business is business'. Goods produced under conditions of slavery or exploited labour, are stained with the guilt of oppression. Those of us who purchase such goods become parties to the existence of the evil conditions under which those goods were made. Hence, there is a grave responsibility resting on every one who enters into commercial transactions, even though it may be only to the extent of a pice, to see to it that he does not become party to circumstances that he would not consciously advocate nor would care to stand by.

Ignoring moral considerations and giving free play to greed, selfishness and jealousy have been fruitful sources of global upheavals. After the first world war the 'Conquerors' unburdened Germany of her colonies and claimed separations to compensate for the war damages.

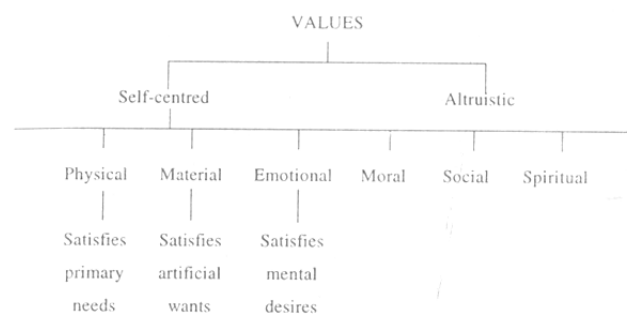
Once again Germany has been vanquished along with Japan. Their patents, dismantled industrial equipments etc., are being pooled by the allied countries. Our country also has been dragged into this sharing of the booty. Thus are our hands stained with the blood of this war and we are guilty sharers of the injustice and cruelty attendant on the doings of imperialist nations. Can such transactions ever form the basis of an 'Economy of Permanence'?

Social Standards: Society itself can value the benefit it receives. It acknowledges such values in the form of the status it confers on different services rendered to it by individuals or classes.

For instance, the respect attached of old to the four castes is based on considerations of services to society. A Sudra, who thinks of no one but himself and works to satisfy his own personal needs, is given hardly any public recognition. The Vaishya also, who ventures out to accumulate material wealth for himself, but in the course of doing so does render some service incidentally, fares little better, though he is allotted a slightly higher position. The Kshatriya, who is much concerned with the protection of the people committed to his charge and values his life less than the honour of duty done, is assigned a noble status. While at the feet of the Brahmin, who pursues an ideal for itself, regardless of the cost to his physical existence, all including even royal princes prostrate themselves. This is a cultural standard of values attained in our land thousands of years ago; unfortunately, at present, these standards have been eclipsed by the glare of material wealth which is blinding but transient. We have to strain every nerve to get back to the noble ideals bequeathed to us and the following of which alone will lead to permanence.

Spiritual Appraisal: There is an incident recorded of how once King David, one of the greatest rulers of the Jews, was arrayed against his formidable enemies, the Philistines— whose armies had encamped between him and city, Bethlehem. From his camp the King could see the well outside Bethlehem beyond the enemy camp. The King in a sentimental mood exclaimed "Oh, for a drink of cold water from that well." Some of the valiant soldiers, who heard this wish of the King, set out to fulfill the royal desire literally. They risked their lives through the enemy camp, reached the well, and brought back to the King a pot of water from that well and placed it before him. The king was much touched by the devotion and loyalty of the soldiers who placed such little value on their own lives and ventured forth to satisfy the passing wish of their King. The spiritual eye of the King saw in that pot* not pure cold water, but the life blood of the men who had gone to procure it. He picked up the pot and being much moved said, "How can I drink this? It contains not water but the blood of my beloved soldiers? If I drink it, it will be a curse to me. I pour it out to God as their sacrifice and noble offering."

The more our actions are based on such spiritual appraisal, which values objects in their true setting and perspective, the purer our lives will be and surer will be the foundations of the road to an economy of permanence, leading humanity to happiness and peace through the medium of non-violence.



IX. VALUATION

The standard of value applied and the method of valuation used impress their characteristic trait on their users. The spirit of the most predominant value that prevails amongst a people will colour a whole civilization for centuries. Hence the great importance of choosing our standard consciously and deliberately.

The old civilization of Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome are no more to tell their tale. They have vanished after a few centuries of brief, glamorous splendour because as the standards on which they were built were predominantly self-centered and transient, their whole organization and system were poisoned by the institution of slavery and extortion of tributes from subject races, as we noted in passing in the last chapter. No doubt, the Greeks and the Romans have left indelible marks of their emotional and self-centred outlook and values in their sculpture, art and literature. These are but heirlooms for their descendents to hug and cherish a dead past. Their civilization is no longer a living force.

In striking contrast to these, the equally old, or even older civilizations of China and India, which were founded on altruistic and objective values, testify even to this day, their vitality and other attributes of permanence and non-violence in their organization. Modern worldly wiseacres may throw cheap gibes at the other worldliness and the religious trends of the orient. There is nothing to be apologetic in this, which after all distinguished a progressive human being from a prowling beast. The enduring qualities of these civilization are pointers to the great farsighted standards of value our forefathers had made use of, in laying the foundations of a lasting society. If we are to continue to build on their lines of permanence and non-violence, our standards too must be altruistic and objective and not those that serve merely the needs of the moment. Especially at the present juncture, while political organizations are in the melting pot and so much thought is being put into the plans for the future, we have to be on our guard.

Unfortunately for the present age, the parties that are playing the star roles on the world are wielding mainly, if not solely monetary standards, which are fleeting in their effect and influence. Everywhere, we hear talk of 'High standards of living,'¹ 'Raising the national income/ 'Increasing productive power and efficiency', 'Making it pay in the modern world of competition' and a score of such arresting slogans. The prevailing school of economic thought is built on the quicksands of Profit, Price, Purchasing Power and Foreign Trade. There is no thought lost on the deeper things of life that mark our man from the other orders. If anything there is even a dangerous tendency to treat with contempt any mention of human or spiritual values. Hence the need for caution.

A few specimen applications of modern methods of measurement to some of the treasures that have been handed down to us will disclose how absurd these so-called up-to-date methods are in that setting.

The Director of the Pottery Works, after examining a rare specimen of Chinese hand-painted vase, will exclaim "What! this article took so long to make. Why I can produce a thousand pairs of such vases in a month."

The Lithograph expert visiting the Ajanta caves, which contain some of the most wonderful mural paintings and frescoes in the world and which must have taken decades or even centuries to produce, would promise to turn out thousands of copies of these masterpieces in a matter of few weeks !

The oil seeds merchant will bewail the waste of acres of fertile land at Shalimar Gardens, which, if placed under cultivation, might produce thousands of maunds of groundnuts every year!

Seeing the ancient manuscripts, styled on palm leaves, which have inspired many schools of Philosophy and have helped to mould lasting civilization, the publishing genius will wonder at the inferior material used and will go on to quote estimates to bring out an edition of it printed on 'Bond' paper at Rs 5/- per copy !

A contractor, who supplies tea table to Irani restaurants, will condemn the waste of good marble on a tomb at Agra. He will compute how many thousands of

table tops could have been made out of the tons of serviceable marble used up in building the Taj Mahal.

An expert cement concrete architect from New York will stand aghast at the valuable time lost at Ellora in carving out three storeyed temples out of living rock with elaborately chiselled figures adorning the pillars etc. He will be quite unable to appreciate the great knowledge of geology which enabled the ancients to select those rocks as flawless for such masterpieces of sculpture, and the deep devotion that has gone into the making of them.

He will pride himself on the 60 oddstoreyed structures at New York, built like so many kerosene tin packing cases, heaped one on top of another to reach up to the heavens, at a fraction of the time it took to carve out these 'primitive' temples. He may even promise to reproduce, within three months, the Kailash temple of Ellora in good reinforced concrete from plaster cast taken from the ancient monument, at a fraction of the cost of the original.

A race-horse dealer walking into Sevagram will forthwith proceed to evaluate Gandhiji by looking into his mouth examining his teeth (which do not exist). He will assign him to the *Pinjrapole* as being superannuated and useless.

The absurdity of the above valuations is on a par with that of the goldsmith who walks into a rose garden and begins examining the flowers with a touchstone— the only method of appraisal known to him.

All these ludicrous situations originate from applying the criteria of one economy to another. For example the race-horse dealer, who belongs to the Parasitic Economy, misapplies the only standard he is familiar with to one who must be judged by canons that prevail in the Economy of Service.

As presented above these appear too ridiculous to be true, yet in actual life such valuations are being insisted on, not by ignorant trades people but by great scholars issuing forth from the renowned universities of the world. The universities are used as hotbeds for raising theorists who will rationalize and support the modern industrialist belonging to the first three economies— of Parasitism, of Predation and of Enterprise.

Every solution of a problem will be tested by them on the universal touchstone of 'Will it pay'? If a mother makes *halva* at the house, for her children, with the purest of ghee, Prof. Dr. Wiseacre will ask the mother imposingly "If you do not adulterate the ghee with some vegetable fat how can you compete in world markets?" He will advise the mother to compute her cost of material adding to it a certain amount indicating the cost of the time the mother spends in the preparation of the sweet. This addition, he will insist, is in the interests of scientific accuracy. Then he will want her to compare her cost so arrived at with the 'market price' per seer. The simple mother will reply, "What are world markets? Where are they held? I am only making this for my children to eat. They must have the cleanest and purest of things. I am not interested in the market price or in the scientifically computed cost per seer. How can I charge up my time? Is not my whole life dedicated to the welfare of my family?" Dr. Wiseacre will be astounded at the colossal ignorance of the rudiments of economic science displayed by this 'Primitive, uncultured woman.' The principles of the economy of service pervade the home, and the mother being imbued with it, judges her own action accordingly; while the professor is misapplying the methods prevalent in the Economy of Predation to one on service basis. He has been familiarized in such methods, under laboratory conditions of isolating all disturbing factors, to think in terms of one particular principle only, regardless of the environment. However excellent such processes may be as mental gymnastics, they ill qualify him to judge in the outside world, where such simplified and artificial conditions do not exist.

A Professor of Physics, who has verified every principle of Dynamics by experiments conducted in his elaborately equipped laboratory, may well state that pieces of paper fall to the earth at the same rate — 32 ft. per second—as bits of lead or other heavy metals. Any school boy will challenge this statement. He will say, "Well, old man, you do not know what you are talking about. I throw pebbles into our village well and watch them strike the water at the bottom. I have also let pieces of paper fall into the well. The pebbles go down to the water straight, while the bits of paper keep flying in the air and sometimes even get blown right outside the well. I have been flying paper kites

which rise so that you can hardly see them. I bet you cannot fly lead kites". No doubt, the learned professor is correct in his own simple laboratory under artificial conditions, with vacuum tubes where there is no air resistance; but the boy's simple words are wisdom in the outside complex world as it is found. There are a hundred and one condition that enter into the consideration of any problem. For a proper valuation, all those prevalent factors have to be taken into account before deciding. Often values in least evidence are the more lasting, while those that are most obvious-like money values-are the least important from other considerations.

A Professor of Economics will say that price mechanism controls supply and demand, the cheaper the article the greater the demand and so on. Is this always true? In the outside world 'the economic man' does not exist. A woman, who wishes to buy a saree, does not call for the cheapest article. She has her own ideas of colour-combination, texture etc., and she would purchase that which fulfils most of her notions. Similarly, a prince who prides on being exclusive, may buy up a whole stock of ties of the same pattern that a dealer may have, so that no one else may be seen wearing a tie like his. Again, a petroleum company may buy up a patent of a vegetable oil burning lamp paying a fabulous price for it, and leave the patent unexploited in a pigeon hole in its office, to prevent anyone else bringing out a lamp that may adversely affect the sales of its kerosene oil by creating a demand for a substitute. Such and many other deviation from the academic standards of economics there are that vitiate our unconditional acceptance of them.

The criterion used will have to suit, not only the particular case but should also fit into the economy as a whole. A person garbed in the western style may hold What Khadi at Re. 1 a yard is expensive while mill cloth sells at Rs. 12 a yard. Here the criterion ignores the setting. The Khadi lover, if a villager, will have grown his own cotton, gathered it, cleaned and spun it in his leisure time and had it woven by his neighbour-the village weaver. He will wash his own clothes, sit on the floor and have such other habits as fit into the village economy as a whole. While the critic may have to pay heavily for tailoring charges of his suit

by a competent tailor and for laundering his clothes by a professional dhobie as he cannot afford to ruin the crease of his suits by sitting on the floor, he needs a chair to sit on and that calls for a table to work on and other chairs to offer to his visitors. His whole method of living becomes complicated and expensive. Taken in this setting who can say that a few annas extra per yard makes the Khadi way of life expensive, even apart from other social considerations ? We cannot isolate one item of cost and compare it with another figure separated from its setting. Often the value of a gem lies more in its setting in the jewel than in itself. We have to consider the whole background of an economy under each type. So far we have dealt with valuation from the point of view of the user or the consumer.

"Can cottage industries exist in a machine age?" is a question one often hears raised. The full consideration of this question may have to be deferred for a later occasion but it may be pointed out here that 'cottage industries' is not merely a method of production but stands for a type of economy of which it is an integral part just as 'Large scale production' forms part of another type of economy. The question posed above resolves itself into asking, which form of economy is preferable, which again will depend on what our objectives are and this will finally mean what our standards of value in life are. Therefore, values and valuation are the pair that draw the chariot of Human Progress. They, in the final analysis, determine the direction to be taken-either towards permanence and non-violence or towards transience and violence. Hence it is imperative to be absolutely clear on these two factors, confusion in our standards and aim leads to ruin.

In Travancore they make beautiful soft, white, mats out of split screwpine leaves. In that part of the country each hut stands on its own land and is surrounded and protected by low mud compound walls on which these screwpine plants are grown. Once while on tour in that locality we halted to inspect the making of these mats. The head mat-weaver of the village-a mussalman came to explain to us the various processes in which men, women and even children of the families took part. Then he led us to three or four

other houses to see others also at work. All the time he was with us he was chanting but one chorus, 'Why is it that our industry does not flourish at present as it did in the times of our father who, following this very occupation, became wealthy enough to build these two storeyed houses while we, their descendants, cannot even afford to repair?' After we had seen all that there was to be seen, as it was midday, this man entreated us to accept his hospitality. I asked my two Brahmin companions what they felt about it, They said they would have no objection if the food was strictly vegetarian. Our guide, on being told of this condition said that although he would like to have meat, his poverty would not allow of it and, so perforce, he was obliged to be a vegetarian. Beside, as our visit was not previously arranged or announced, we had to take pot-luck and he would place before us whatever had been prepared for the family. He warned us that food would be just plain rice and dhal and pickles, but he assured us he would be highly pleased if we would partake at his house even this frugal fare. We accepted his invitation more because of his importunity and to see for ourselves his way of living at his house than because of our need, and so we repaired to his home. While we were having a wash he got the varandah prepared for us to sit down to our repast and all the while he was reciting the same old query about the cause of the decay of the industry. I was raking my mind as to what answer to give him. Just then he called us in to take our seats. I was shown to the middle seat, being considered the chief guest, and my two companions were assigned seats on either side of me. For these two screwpine *asans* were placed and as I glanced at the seat meant for my august personage, I exclaimed, "I now know why your industry is languishing and you are facing ruin. The fault lies in your scale of values." He implored me to explain how that was. I asked him, "Where did to get these *asans* spread of my companions?" He replied, "Sir, they are specimens of the humble labour of my hands. I made them." Then I enquired, "Where did you .get this mat that has been spread for me with this tiger printed on it?" He said "That is a Japanese mat I bought in the bazaar." I then explained, "Considering me the principal guest you thought of honouring me by seating me on this Japanese mat while you provided my friend with your own handiwork. This shows you valued the

Japanese mat more than your own product. If you yourself do so, can you blame others doing likewise? If many others follow your method of valuing foreign articles they will also cease buying locally made screwpine mats. How can your industry flourish with all your old customers gone? Are you not the chief culprit to destroy your own trade?" With folded hands he accepted the reasoning and forthwith replaced the Japanese mat by one of his own make.

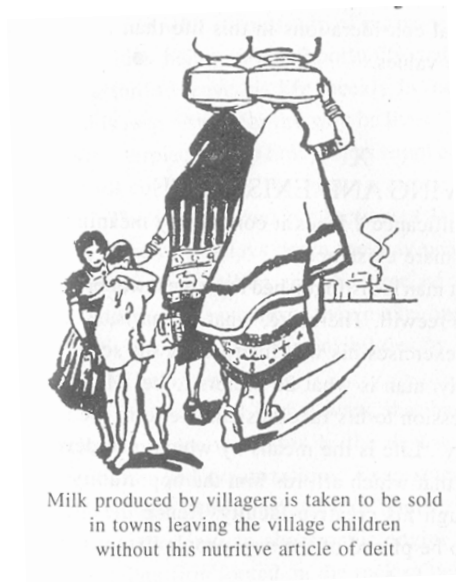


Here is a picture in miniature of what is happening all over our country. The standards by which we judge are not comprehensive enough. We are often led away by low money prices ignoring the great gashes in our economic and social organization made by such short-sighted choice of ours. The goods produced by our own neighbours have values which are not represented in the money price. The money value is most often the least important of all considerations, although frequently, it is the sole factor that affects our decision. Such pure monetary considerations may lead to the blasting of the ramifications of our social order and spell ruin and distress all round. Money value blinds the vision to a long range social view, so that the wielder of the axe fells the branch on which he is standing. He is the contributing party to his own destruction and fall. Hence an unfettered long term policy, which will ensure permanence, calls for the application of objective criteria, taking into consideration not merely the immediate solution of a problem but also the more lasting after effects which may follow in the wake. No act of a single individual ends with an isolated transaction. It has its repercussions right through society, though many of us do not have our sight trained to perceive what follows in its train.

A secretary of a co-operative society was enumerating the benefits his organization had conferred on its members by marketing the honey produced by them. Proudly, he took me to show me a farm where the owner had domesticated about 30 colonies of honey-bees in simple hives constructed out of old mud pots. The bees seemed very active. Hundreds of pounds of honey were being sent by this farmer to the society for marketing. I was much impressed by the recounting of all this achievement and how much money it had brought in. Just then a little girl, a child of the owner, came in running. I asked her if she also knew what these honey bees were so busy about. She said they were making honey. I next enquired if she liked honey. She looked blank. Thinking she did not understand my question I repeated it in another form saying "Don't you like the taste of honey?" She startled me with "I do not know what it tastes like." I turned round to the owner and enquired if he did not give his own children any honey. He gave me what he thought to be a perfect answer. "How can I afford to use it at home when I get Re. 1/- per lb. at the society?" My appreciative attitude vanished and I remarked to the elated secretary of the society, "Your work is damned when this child does not know the taste of honey. By offering high prices you are enticing away this honey from the mouth of this child to the over-laden tables of the rich". The story is the same everywhere with eggs, milk and other articles with high nutritive values. In the N. W. F. Province, where eggs were once largely produced and locally consumed, the consumption of the local population has fallen considerably since the military authorities of Rawalpindi, Quetta and Ambala began to draw on these supplies.

Money valuation benumbs the faculty for the better appreciation of higher considerations, and results in a transaction which may be a gain to one party, but leads to irreparable loss to the other. Instead of drawing on surpluses (as we noted in the last chapter in the example of the boy with *jilabis*) it helps to drain out vital sustenance, thus causing grave social loss which is not apparent at the moment. It was the monetary mechanism that was at the bottom of the great Bengal famine of 1943. It snatched away life-giving elements from the mouth of the starving population before they were aware of it, by giving them

valueless paper notes representing frozen credits at London. Let us take this terrible disaster to heart and learn the lesson it has to teach us, reminding us, that there are other and more vital considerations in this life than money with which to measure values.



Milk produced by villagers is taken to be sold in towns leaving the village children without this nutritive article of diet

X. LIFE, LIVING AND EXISTENCE

Has life any significance? Does it convey any meaning? What constitutes it? - mere existence?

We have seen that man is distinguished from the lower orders by the possession of Freewill. Therefore, what a man is, is declared by the way he exercises his will interpreting his scale of values. Thus eventually, man is what he prefers to be. Man, by his living, gives expression to his faculties and we term the resultant his 'Personality'. Life is the means by which man develops himself and it is that which affords him the opportunity to express himself through his creative faculty. Hence the great importance that has to be placed on the way people live or have to live.

Life then becomes the great canvas on which man, the artist with his peculiar brand of paint of many values, and the firm strokes of his brush of freewill, brings into existence his indelible work of art, which he will leave behind him to help or retard human progress. If he uses a large mixture of self-centered values, which are like water-colours that may wash out or fade away with age, his work will not attain a high degree of permanence and will be disfigured by violence. On the other hand, if he uses mainly altruistic or objective values, which are like the earth paints used at Ajanta that have retained their freshness through the centuries, then his masterpiece will go down from generation to generation with its message of permanence and non-violence.

Such being man's opportunity and responsibility, he cannot afford to leave his life meekly in the hands of others. Each man is responsible for the way he lives. He cannot substitute for his masterpiece cheap lithographs supplied wholesale, with frame and all complete, by the manufacturers.

The standardized production of large scale industries today, more or less lays down the way people are to live, instead of consumers calling for the type of goods they want, the producers press, whatever they make, on the passive

public. We cannot discharge our responsibilities by remaining passive. We need to be up and doing.

The two great global wars, that have been visited on this generation, are witnesses to the destructive nature of modern institution and organizations. Even science, which by its very nature ought to be objective and creative, has been prostituted by being turned into an abominable engine of destruction. Instead of standing firm footed on the rock of permanence and non-violence, eminent scientists have been engulfed by the river of violence in spate, which is carrying death and ruin through the fair fields of human progress and civilization. They complacently claim to be on neutral ground. This is self-deception. There is no neutrality. Either we are creative or destructive. By the exercise of their freewill, they have chosen to serve the latter end and hence great is the destruction thereof.

Material destruction, immense as it is, is the least part of it. What is bemoaned above everything else is the irreplaceable loss of young promising lives. If a tiger should kill a great scientist what is its gain and what is the loss to humanity? The man-eater gets perhaps 120 lbs. of flesh, bone and blood. The nutritive value of these can well be replaced even from the vegetable kingdom: if the digestive apparatus were adapted to it. On the other hand, what humanity loses is not so much the flesh and blood but the higher faculties which are the resultant of generations of culture, expressed under changing values of life and action and which are of no use to the tiger, while the loss is an irreparable one to mankind. That part which is noblest and highest and which works towards permanence is lost by the parasitic act of the tiger, whose gain is but transient. The flesh and blood have gone to appease its hunger for a few hours at the cost of an eternal loss as a heritage. The higher life of the scientist comprising knowledge, creation and love has been of no use to the prowling beast.

In the same way, the loss to humanity occasioned by the millions of lives sacrificed in these wars cannot be computed by human effort. The clock of human progress and civilization is set back centuries by such holocausts.

Again, which horticulturist will hew down a graft mango tree that yields good fruits for the sake of firewood? Yet man is so foolish as to offer his children as gun fodder and is even proud of doing so. Such is the potency of propaganda glorifying violence.

It may be mentioned here in passing that apart from sentimental or religious feelings and considerations of such principles as violence and non-violence, slaughter of animals for food stands condemned by the above reasoning. While the meat-eater gets the flesh, which can easily be substituted by nutrition obtainable from other sources, nature loses valuable expressions of instinctive life—the song of birds, the love of animals etc. which often excel the fitful exhibits of man and are equally as irreplaceable functions as the creative faculty in man. Flesh-eating, therefore, belongs to the Parasitic Economy of Transience and causes avoidable destruction. It lowers the 'habitude' to the lowest order of existence which has no dignity to it.

Applying these ideas of life to the five forms of economies, with special reference to the creative faculty of man, the Parasitic Economy becomes the House of Imitations, the 'redatory Economy gives us the House of Adoptions, while the Economy of Enterprise will assume the form of the House of Material Creations and the Economy of Gregation forms the House of Social Innovations, and the Economy of Service which enables its devotees to project themselves into the life of others, may be termed the House of Sublimation.

The House of imitation: Those who fall within this group do not trouble to contribute anything themselves but take whatever they can—from others' creations by closely imitating them. The guiding characteristic still remains self-love and pleasure seeking by the easiest route. In effect, they live through the lives of others. There is just existence pure and simple. They are like the moondead or lifeless themselves—but their glory, such as they possess, is a reflection of other people's efforts. Their own personality finds no expression. Nothing worthwhile is to be learnt from them. It may not be wholly their fault that they are sterile like the mule which, being hybrid, is neither a horse nor a donkey or and is unable to reproduce itself. It lives and dies without leaving a.

progeny. Similarly, the imitators have no creative faculty or if they possess it, it is allowed to lie dormant, being given no opportunity to express or develop itself. It may be, if their environment were changed, they would be able to contribute to the general progress of society. To the extent that they remain functionless, the existence of such a group is definitely a loss to society. They consume without creating. Their lives are not works of art but just colourless black and white prints from the printing press.

Earlier in this century, the Japanese, who copied everything western, fell into this group. It had led them from the Economy of Permanence, which they, along with their neighbours China and India, were following, into the House of Imitation and we see vividly today their inevitable fall into the Parasitic Economy in their inroads into Manchuria and China. From following nonviolence they have now enshrined violence and destruction.

In our own country, many of our friends, especially Indian Christians (I write this in regard to the community to which I belong in humiliation and shame) fall into this group. They imitate the westerner in every possible way even to the extent of abandoning their own mother-tongue for English. They dress like the westerners, they keep house in the best foreign missionary style and in their well-to-do circle even their food habits have been borrowed from the West inclusive of many tinned imported stuffs. Their recreation follows all that is held fashionable in the west, such as racing and ballroom dancing, which latter has been well described as 'hugging set to music'. This group has also been highly sterile intellectually in spite of the fact that most of them can boast of a varied liberal education. Unfortunately, the trend in big cities is towards this, the lowest type. The only consolation is that their number is comparatively small, and if measures are taken in hand in good time to check its spreading further, we may be able to eradicate it root and branch.

The House of Adoption: The motto of those who belong this group is "Let us eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die". These also do take from the contributions of others as do those of the previous house but the difference lies

in this that they try to make the creations of others their own by slight modification which however, are not distinctive enough to lay claim to originality.



Again the present day Japanese afford us a good example of those who attempt to adopt the lead given by others' originality. What they had taken previously from the West they have acclimatised to their land. For instance, they had taken over large scale production from the West and split the unwieldy units of centralized factories into many small cottage industries, assembling the various parts when finished, in a central workshop. To give one example, in England the bicycle is produced in its entirety by single plants like that of the B. S. A. Company. But Japan manufactures similar goods by organizing cottage workers who are supplied with tools and materials. Some of them produce only spokes, others only rims and so on. All these separate parts are brought to the Central Assembling, work-shop which puts out complete useable machines.



Some persons in our country, who are not so much under western influence as those of the House of Imitation, attempt to adopt western modes-say in clothes-with grotesque results. A Babu may put on an open coat but he may omit, with commendable rationality in this hot climate, the irksome, stiff starched collar and the troublesome, purposeless extra tie. He may wear his shirt outside the trousers thinking it makes for coolness, and on his socksless feet he may use the only Indian chappal

he possesses- Oxford shoes being expensive. Such maybe an eyesore to the wholehogger but it must be admitted he is more original than the pure imitator. Such persons are only much works of art as the cheap lithographic we find pasted on stocks of mill-cloth. They have the will-power to pick and choose, but lack the sense of perspective to create anything complete and whole, or are too lazy to do so. Such patchwork, as they may accomplish, is bound to be transient and their eagerness to obtain quickly what they want is sure to lead into paths of violence.

The House of material Creations: According to the Law of the Economy of Enterprise we would expect that in this house every individual will assert himself and lead his own life regardless of what may be the lot of others following the maxim. "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindermost". They would be expected to have original ideas which will be translated into life for their own selfish benefit. This would imply that every person would be free to express himself in his daily mode of living. Unfortunately, the world today is under the heels of producers who have power to lay down the way their consumers should live. Hence the freedom of choice and the faculty of the consumer have been neutralized and rendered ineffective.

In France, the beauty specialist will proclaim that the fashion of the day is to have butterflies painted on the bare backs and which are to be exposed to the gaze of admirers. Unquestioningly the aspiring females will resort to the beauty parlours, don their bathing costumes and have butterflies painted on their uncomplaining backs, and repair to the sea resorts of the Riviera to exhibit their backs to the stupefied public.

Again, in Western clothes and feminine fashions Paris leads the world. London imitates these and probably commercialises the modes, while New York may adopt these to its needs and standardize them.

Standardization in the West has killed all originality of the consumer in his mode of life. People are mainly concerned with what others will think of them if they departed from the universal set mode of life. Even the life in the home

is controlled by fashions called for by outsiders-the court, the aristocracy or the business interests.



Producer made fashions

For a while the fashion will be to eat soup out of a soup plate with a rim round the bowl, with a large elliptical spoon. A few years later the fashion will change. A soup bowl without a rim will now be used and a spoon more or less circular in shape will be the proper style. These frequent changes are productive of snobbery and are good for business. The poor cannot afford to scrap their crockery and silver off and on to adopt new ways, and so are easily eliminated from the 'County Set'. From the business point of view, if the same kind of things are to be handed down from, father to son, the capacity of the market will be limited, while if such changes in the material modes of living are effected, the artificially created demand will widen the scope for more business.

People who follow such senseless and baseless fashions are the innocent victims, or social climbers or enterprising business houses who, by their skilful advertisements and high pressure salesmanship, push their goods where there are no natural markets. Such ignorant victims of propaganda and fashions, in time generate in themselves a kind of inferiority complex, lose confidence in themselves, and fail to give free play to their own creative faculty, rendering life monotonous.

If one visits a few flats in Bombay, one will soon get to know what to expect in every other house. The same modern laminated wood furniture with glass tops to tables and all that will go with these are to be met with house after house.

There is no variety, no imagination, no original ideas. It is one dead level. Even in old cemeteries one may find wonderful specimens of works of art or sculpture, but not in a modern Bombay flat where people are supposed to 'live'. These homes are more dead than graves. Everything is done for the consumer by the manufacturer under the pretext of making life comfortable and easy; such ease leads to the benumbing of the higher faculties which spells death to progress and development.

If life is to be creative, such deadening standardization must go. There should be plenty of scope for individual taste to express itself. Designing one's own house or furniture is a fertile field for the play of one's personality. Under the specious plea of simplifying one's problems, large scale manufacturers are laying waste personality and individuality and are impoverishing life. In the U. S. A., prefabricated houses can be built overnight. All one has to do is to ring up the wholesale manufacturer and tell him where one wants it and which plan one prefers, -Plan A, Plan B or Plan C. All the doors, windows etc. of each plan are kept ready in stock. The only time needed is to assemble them like a packing case out of boards. Even in matters of food, where one would expect individual tastes to prevail, the manufacturers have borne down individuality by carefully worded advertisements, setting forth fanciful food values etc. Ready prepared foods are making their appearance also in Indian markets and homes dealing a death-blow to the art of cooking. Every housewife should pride herself on her culinary art. Instead we have standardized fruit preserves, pickles, chutneys, infant and invalid semi-pre- pared foods, supplied from factories thousands of miles from our land.

Man is so constituted that the less he thinks on problems the less he is fitted for life. Therefore, the all considerate and thoughtful modern manufacturer, who professes to do all the thinking for the consumer, is really crippling him. Even a mother has to let her child attempt to walk and perhaps to fall and hurt itself too. If she strives to take such care of her child that it should never fall, always carries it herself, the child will never develop a sense of balance and will have

to go through life a cripple. Such is the service rendered to society by the manufacturers of today.

In our country we have a whole range and variety of methods of daily life that afford the creative faculty many rich combinations; among the different climes and Provinces. Even in a single Province there is variety among the communities. Thus we have a very wide field for the development and expression of our personality if we do not fall to the wiles of business houses. Fortunately here also, but for the cities and towns, the life in the villages remains mostly unaffected, although rapid strides are being made in the wrong direction even in remote parts, still the situation is not beyond redemption. This death dealing contagion calls for immediate measures.

Instead of the House of Creations being a source of strength, the topsy turvy order, in which the manufacturer plays the central role, has made it the weakest link of the chain, as the consumer, who forms the bulk of the population, is mercilessly suppressed and his creative faculty is buried under the debris of modern factories. This method of living does not bring into existence works of art but just produces transient and flimsy transfer pictures which any child can paste in his school books.

The consumer has no voice in calling for his goods. His side of the transaction is misnamed by learned 'Economists' as the Demand. He makes no demand. He meekly takes what is presented to him. The cart is put before the horse. Shoes may be prepared in Northampton, England, by the workers who never have any contact with the consumer in India or some other remote corner of the earth. Instead of shoes being made to fit the consumers' feet, the consumer has to go to a shop and fit his foot into a ready-made shoe of the nearest shape available. If sufficient customers' feet are not available in the market under the influence of the markets, then, some country, like Abyssinia, where 'natives' go barefooted, has to be brought under political control and 'civilized' so that the people may be taught to wear western types of footwear. This chase of the pre-existent supply for a demand is one of the most fruitful sources of modern conflicts and wars. The unnatural creation of a demand generates violence and

produces an unstable equilibrium. In the effort to right itself, the swing again causes violence.

If we seek to obtain permanence and non-violence, we must have an order in which the customer will play the leading role and that personally. This can only be achieved when consumption-goods are locally made, perhaps in cottages, under the eye of the consumer, to meet the existing needs. Only under such conditions can the consumer bring into effect his scale of values which will develop, as well as express, his personality. Modern forms of production and sale have reduced life into stagnation and living into mere existence. The atmosphere is suffocative. It can be cleared by those who have the needed gifts to belong to this House of Creation asserting their personalities and arousing themselves to action. The monetary scale of values, which has taken complete possession of this House, has to be ousted and the manifold scale of cultural values has to be installed and given full sway over the conditions that affect the life of the people in general.

House of Social Innovations : This House belongs to the Economy of Gregation. Hence the deciding criterion at every stage will be "what is good for society in general" ? And not any consideration of personal benefit to any individual or to any special persons. It is needless to point out that money values will have hardly any place here. Long range considerations will prevail over short range policies.

There have been, of late, many attempts at Socio-economic experiments. Russia set the ball rolling with her Soviet Communism. Then Fascists and Nazis followed. Their experiments have failed to usher in permanence and non-violence. On the other hand, they have sunk humanity in a river of blood. They sought shortcuts, each for their own class or nation, forgetting the larger issues of the whole human family. The submissive populations have been drilled under the maxim ⁴'My Country-Right or Wrong'. Hence they have landed themselves in violence and destruction.

The League of Nations, though it has an ambitious and high-sounding name to comprehend the whole world, also followed a transient and short-sighted

economy, serving only the selfish interest of a few who controlled its machinery. Therefore, it also failed to secure permanence and non-violence for humanity at large.

Proper planning of life is imperative. To be successful the objective of the plan recommended must be universal and be in complete alignment with the eternal order of things. It should not be a convenient attempt (such as the one we noticed in the last House) to foist standardized methods of life on others, with the purpose of disposing of the products of centralized factories,, nor should it be such as to kill individual expressions of personality.

In our land, the field of work for those in this House is immense. The villages are in dire need of those who will organize their activities so as to make life possible. Today, they fare worse than the jungle animals, which at least obtain sufficient nourishment for healthy and active life. The social and economic environment is such as to kill all initiative. It will be the function of those of this House to plan out the lives of the helpless masses so as to afford them the chance of leading a human life rich in it. Possibilities for self-expression. Planning to this end implies the formulation of a norm towards which we should work. If the norm is well-conceived it will afford free play to all creative faculties of every member of society. Whether the norm is a proper one or not can be judged by the effect any change in it causes. The natural norm can neither be raise nor lowered within the short span of life. Any such deviation will cause pathological conditions. Nature has designed the wonderful human system through millions of years. No scientist can equip a laboratory so simple and yet so efficient as the digestive system we possess. No engineer has yet devised a self- acting and self-regulating pump as the heart. Whether wireless or otherwise, no Morconi has designed a system of communications as perfect as our nervous system. The normal working of this body and mind cannot be altered or designed afresh by ignorant man. Hence, it will be futile for any mortal individual to attempt to change the course of life as he wishes it. All that can be done is to co-operate with nature and arrange to maintain the environment in such a form as will guarantee its working at its best. This stage

or norm is set by nature and man's part is to study and understand nature's requirements and pay heed to it. If there be any departure from nature's norm, it will lead to social maladjustments.

Every medical man is aware of the futility of trying to alter the normal temperature of the body. If it goes above the norm, fever sets in and if it falls below depression and weakness follow, in either case, death is the end. Nor can we tune the heart to cope with a life of feverish activity that a man may desire to lead. No doubt there is a certain range of adaptability. We cannot bank on this unduly. Too much strain give the danger signal of high blood pressure. But that is not a new norm at which we may settle down without endangering life. In the same way, there is a norm or requirements which, when fulfilled, causes the human system to function at its best. The purpose of planning is to determine it and take such steps as will ensure it to every human being.

Unfortunately, today the golden calf (or rather as gold has vanished into thin air, the Sterling calf) has been enthroned and all considerations centre round money and not round human personality.

There have been plans and plans, all aiming at an abundance of material production but lacking root in human nature. Such plans are like a well arranged vase of cut flowers. They are, no doubt, beautiful and retain for a time their natural scent and appearance but, as they are severed from the parent plant, death is in them. Therefore, their glory is shortlived.

A planner should rather like a gardener. He first prepares the soil, sows the seed and waters it and having done his part he stands aside. The plant of its own nature, drawing the nutriment supplied by the conditioned soil, grows and brings forth flowers. The well arranged vase, however much loaded and crowded with flowers, was transient and death was in it, while the plant is permanent because it draws its sap from nature with its roots and so has life. Some flowers of the plant may fade away but others will blossom forth to take their place.

Similarly, planning should ensure wholesome conditions for the growth of human beings. What is put forth by them is not the end or aim. The method of starting with a predetermined output and working towards it, is not the way of nature. We may, by such methods, Obtain forced results but that, not being a natural growth, will fade away and may even leave behind an aftermath of decay. Such forced pace is like a Christmas tree well decorated with tinsel candles etc., and overladen with presents-drums, bugles, dolls etc.; neither the decorations nor the presents being natural to the tree it cannot pride itself on it. As the X'mas tree is but a branch cut off from the live plant, it cannot draw the sap of life from mother earth through roots and so the leaves, though they may retain their freshness for a while, will droop down and the branch itself will dry up, being thereafter fit only for firewood. Such also will be the fate of plans that follow the glamour of plenty.

The condition and environment for the full growth of the faculties of man that have to be ensured are the primary end of planning. Every individual has to have enough wholesome and balanced food, sufficient clothing to protect the body from changes in weather, adequate housing accommodation, full opportunities for training the mind and body for life, clean surroundings to safeguard health and ample facilities for human intercourse, economic production and exchange. Such then are the planners' objectives. Beyond these all other accomplishments should be left to the initiative of the people themselves. Only then will they have room to afford them chances of exercising their freewill and their scale of values, which would make their lives, not mere existence, but something worthwhile and that will produce a culture as a consequence, which will be lasting and will be a definite contribution to the progress of mankind.

No planned way of life can deprive the human being of his right to choose his own method of living, as long as the chosen form does not infringe on the rights of his fellow-beings. The planned life is only to ensure that each person gets his minimum human needs at the least. Over and above that, every individual must have as much scope as possible for the individual sense of

values to make its presence felt. Any planned life that is too rigid to allow of it and takes away or restricts beyond measure the individual freedom to act and express his idea of values will be guilty of regimentation. Regimentation deprives a human being of his individuality and lowers him to the level of a cogwheel in an unalterable machine. Such regimentation of life from the cradle to the grave, whatever be its merits or efficiency, will stand condemned as it fails to answer our first requirement for the progress of a human being, the right of freedom to express one's personality.

Regimentation certainly has its place and function where the objective is not the development of personality but some joint effort-as in an army or a factory-where each head or hand counts rather than the individual, who has to be submerged in such cases in the general interest of the goal, which is the all absorbing and supreme consideration and the individual is only the means of attaining it. To us, the development of the individual being the objective, and the organization only the means of securing it, there can be no place for regimentation in our scheme.

For example, in a well conducted dairy, animals will be fed well on properly prepared cattle feed, given salt and water in due time and in regulated measure, stabled in well constructed sheds, taken out to exercise in the sun for a while, rubbed down and cleaned daily and milked according to time table. This is not what a human being needs if he is to rise above the level of mere existence of brute beasts. A well regulated prison affords such conditions of existence. Under prison rules it is even made a punishable offence to abstain from proper sleep or rest or food which may have a deleterious effect on the health of the prisoner. Such care is taken of the body of the prisoner. But that is not life where freedom of choice and activity has been taken away.

It is, therefore, imperative that no plan should raise insurmountable walls on all sides and reduce life into a jail. It should function like a fence that, while protecting the field from the depredations of destructive intruders, does not interfere or shut off air and light from the sequestered spot. The creative faculties of those who belong to this House and who dedicate their lives to

serve their fellow beings, will have to be directed towards devising such plans of free life for the people.

At this place we have confined ourselves to a consideration of the function of the plan and the field to be devoted to it. In the following chapter we shall take up the requisites of a norm of life which will form the basis of a satisfactory plan.

The House of Sublimaton: In the Economy of Service, to which section the House of Sublimation belongs, personal rights fade away yielding place to duties that assume the regulation of life. Freewill is used to control the animal side of man and his selfish bodily inclinations directing his activities rationally into certain well chosen channels. The scale of values is designed to measure the welfare of others rather than one's own pleasure. Hence, the perspective is a long range one, as the immediate personal gain is not the desired end.

Therefore, for one in this House to be creative it is essential to realise in oneself the defects and needs of society before any reform or plan can be suggested. Mere intellectual appreciation or criticism will not serve the purpose. A laboratory is called for to carry out experiments on a limited scale and then only the remedy that has been proved efficacious can be recommended to others. A nutrition expert first carries on experiments by feeding guinea pigs or white mice, pigeons, monkeys etc., on different types of articles of food and observes the effects produced on these creatures. Only after this he is in a position to suggest the constituent parts of a well-balanced diet for human beings. Similarly, in all socio-economic innovations it would be necessary to try out the new ideas on human beings. The ones in this House, therefore, are volunteer guinea pigs and scientific experts rolled into one.

We saw that those of the last house had to plan for the masses. But the plan can be drawn up only on tried principles. This opens the field for the House of Sublimation. Necessity is said to be the mother of invention. If we feel in our own selves the needs of others, and if we are endowed with creative faculties, we should be able to devise ways and means of solving those difficulties. One belonging to this House will suffer or live vicariously in the lives of others. He

will be more sensitive of the feeling of others and their surroundings than to his own. He will weep with those who do weep and rejoice with those who do rejoice. His scale of values will be altruistic. He will not be conscious of his own rights. He will sublimate his fatherhood into protecting and supporting those who are helpless friendless, accepting the whole human family as his own.

In the history of scientific research there are many instances of scientists trying the effect of their researches on their own persons. Many have risked their lives in doing so and some have lost them in the process. These are the martyrs with whose blood human progress is cemented. One of the chief reasons why Gandhiji has adopted the loin cloth as his complete wardrobe is because he wanted to identify himself and feel one with the millions of our land who have not even decent rags to cover their nakedness, leave along any protection against the inclemencies of the weather.

In a country like ours, bristling with socio-economic problems, we need persons who will take on themselves the disabilities, privations and poverty of the masses and having experienced in their own being the sufferings of those around them will proceed to find a suitable remedy. It is for this purpose that the various human laboratories or ashrams and institutions like Tagore's Santiniketan, and Gandhiji's Charkha Sangh, the Gram Udyoga Sangh, etc. are established. These function like a nursery where a horticulturist produces tested and selected seeds to supply the gardens of the land. The proved remedies of these experimental stations are placed at the service of the world at large.

Hence, it is through the House of Sublimation we can find a solution for the ills humanity is suffering from violence and hatred. The life of the people in general has to be planned and ordained, not from the point of view of individual interest based on *laissez-faire* principles, but from a selfless, detached and long range point of view. When so planned each member of society, however humbly he may be placed, will have full opportunities to make his own contribution for the good of all. Then life will be neither pure imitation without any regard for varying circumstances nor will it be one of

limited adoptions with just a few variations to suit local needs, nor will it be called to perform the functions of an expanding market in the interests of manufactures of material goods, nor will it be based on sectional needs ignoring the wider range of responsibilities. Life so planned, will not only meet individual and sectional needs, but it will also be set as to lead to the happiness of all and open up wide fields of opportunities for personal development and expressions which will not fall foul of the welfare of one's neighbours.

XI. STANDARDS OF LIVING

For the reason discussed in the last chapter it becomes imperative that the daily life of the people should be so regulated as to enable them to express their personality. What we eat, wherewith we are clothed and what manner of lives we lead, all have a bearing, not only on our own lives, but also, on the future of mankind. Just as each person expresses himself through the scale of values he uses so also his manner or living will express his personality. To do this there should be norms for all people to adhere to, and these norms or standards must be arrived at from purely objective considerations calculated to afford every person that opportunity in full measure that is needed to develop all his faculties and thereby his personality. The suggested norm or standard should relate not only to bodily and material needs but also to all those innumerable items that go to enrich and ennoble life and raise it above the level of mere existence. Of course, it will naturally deal with food that is required to maintain a level of human performance with adequate medical aid, with clothing that will not only cover nakedness but will also afford room for an expression of art and beauty, with education which will widen and brighten life while developing the inherent faculties with congenial work that will open up opportunities for the creative propensities of man and with all such other accessory facilities that will help in the progress both of the individual and the group.

A standard that is to fulfill all these requirements will naturally be one that has to be acceptable both to the individual and to society. It cannot be chosen merely from a one-sided consideration. If the individual is allowed to follow his own sweet will without any other restrictive consideration, if he is one in the House of Imitations or that of Adoptions his mode of life will not contribute anything to progress but may ever harm society. If he belongs to the House of Material Creations his innovations may clash with those of others and retard progress thereby. A producer left to his own machinations will utilize the opening to lay down ways by which he can push his own goods by propaganda

and by setting up fashion favourable to his business. On the other hand, if it is left to society alone, the individual citizen may be crushed and turned into an unquestioning automaton. Such is the fate of the common man today under Capitalism, Imperialism, Fascism, Nazism and State Socialism. The world is largely under the heels of the producer who calls the tune and sets the pace. This has led to chaos as even these interested parties have no agreed plan or rule of life to guide them. Each manufacturer freely follows his own whims. As a result there is widespread confusion in the methods of living.

It is difficult even to understand what people mean when they talk of a standard of living. It is a delightfully vague term. Hence it becomes convenient to bandy these words about without fear of committing oneself to anything definite. Each person may have his own notion of a standard of living and as to what it comprises. To one a radio set and a motor car may fall within the barest minimum. To another two meals a day may be a rare luxury. Therefore, it is necessary to work out an objective standard taking into consideration the conditions obtaining in our land. Should this standard have an economic basis or follow cultural considerations or social needs? What is meant by 'high' or low standards? By the former standard is meant full satisfaction of a wide range of material wants and by the latter a very limited enjoyment of worldly goods?

In previous chapters we have discussed the many ways of looking at life and their respective scales of values. We have come to the conclusion that life is not to be valued purely on a monetary basis nor by what looms large in the immediate present, but that a well-balanced economy leading to permanence and nonviolence calls for a comprehensive consideration of various factors making life broad-based. In such an economy money is of the least importance. "Man does not live by bread alone" but by everything that affords him opportunities for the free expression of the whole man-his body, mind and spirit-for all that will make him approach perfection.

The standard of life in England is generally spoken of as being high. There a gardener may live in a two storeyed-cottage with three or four bedrooms upstairs, with a flush lavatory and a bathroom. Downstairs there may be a living

room and a dining room along with a kitchen store and washroom attached. All windows will have glass shutters sheltered by curtains and blinds. The doors will have heavy curtains to keep out the draught. The floors will be carpeted and the walls well-papered. Every room will have its appropriate and adequate furniture though simple and inexpensive. For instance, the dining room will have a dining table with proper armless chairs, sideboard, perhaps fitted with a mirror, with a requisite supply of table-linen, crockery etc. The table service itself, though not very elaborate, will furnish appropriate dishes, plates, forks, spoons, etc., for the various courses such as soup, fish, meat, sweet, and dessert, for it is not the proper thing to eat one course with the equipment for another. Knife and fork for fish is of one kind, knife and fork for meat is of another, while the service sets are still different. When one person sits down to a meal there will be at least about 50 pieces to wash up. Such is generally accepted as a 'High' standard of living.

In India, a really cultured man, perhaps a Dewan or a Prime Minister of a State presiding over the destinies of millions of people, may have hardly any furniture in his house though it may be of palatial dimensions. His reception rooms may have floors of marble, mosaic or polished tiles and will be washable and clean. There may be hardly any carpets to accumulate dust and dirt. The Dewan himself will go about barefooted at home as the best of persons do in the South. Our Dewan may squat on an *asan* on the floor and eat, perhaps off a plantain leaf. He may not have been initiated into the art of wielding knives and forks, for it is an art not easily acquired, following sacred rules not meant for the common folk—he may use his nature-bestowed fingers, and when he has finished his repast, the leaf will not have to be washed but may be thrown away and may be readily disposed off by a goat which will turn it into milk for its owner! There will be only his fingers to be washed. By contrast this will be termed a 'low' standard of living.

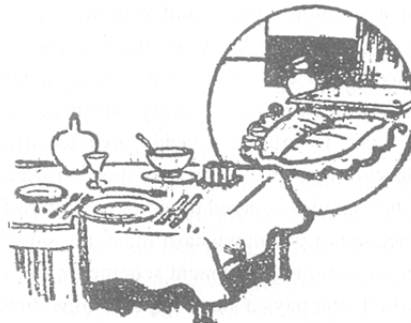
Is this an appropriate use of terms 'high' and 'low'? If the standard or norm must contain a multiplicity of material wants artificially created, then only these terms will have any significance. But if we choose to be perverse and regard as

desirable that which calls into play the highest faculties in man, then the Dewan's life follows a higher standard than the British gardener's whose standard now becomes 'low'. For a standard based on material considerations the more suitable terms will be 'complex' and 'simple' rather than 'high' and 'low'. We may then say that the Dewan's standard of life is 'high' but 'simple' and the British gardener's is 'low' but 'complex'. It would appear as though the present terms have been specially devised to convey a psychological preference for the 'complex' standard which is the foundation of a good market for the manufacturers. Who will rationally fall for a standard which is dubbed 'complex'?

The complex standard converts its devotee into a drudge. From dawn till nightfall the British gardener's wife, if she means to be reasonable clean, has to toil away at sweeping the carpets with a vacuum cleaner, polishing the window panes, washing the curtains, bed and table linen, the dishes, plates etc., and cooking utensils, apart from attending to her daily round of duties such as shopping and kitchen work. To clean even one fork properly between the prongs will take more time and labour than washing one's hands. Is it a wonder that where such complex standards prevail, women prefer to be rid of the 'nuisance' of having children? "Children and dogs not allowed" is an ubiquitous notice board to be seen everywhere in such countries. Motherhood, of course, adds to the already overcrowded time-table for the day, but the choice of complex standard is a reflection on the scale of values prevalent. By various means at their disposal- propaganda, advertisements, setting up fashions etc.- the manufacturers are able to induce the house-wives to adopt this mode of life and become their devoted customers. Let us beware of such traps which will enslave us to material wants, but offer nothing in exchange for filling our time with wasteful details which ought not to be allowed to encumber our lives.

The interested parties glibly talk of creating leisure for the house-wife by introducing labour-saving devices, but no sooner is a machine allowed to oust human labour than some other invention is brought in to absorb the money and

time saved by the former device, leaving the second state of the house-wife worse than the first.



The two ways of dining

For example let us revert to our friend, the British gardener's wife. Formerly carpets were beaten and cleaned by casual human labour. The vacuum cleaner made its appearance. It dispensed with outside labour. A travelling salesman would have visited the gardener's wife and waxed eloquent over the marvellous performance of his commodity for sale-the vacuum cleaner-and would have appealed to the thrifty house-wife by showing her how much she could save every year by not having to call in human labour to do this heavy work of carpet cleaning and how much such saving will amount to in her lifetime with interest added ! As a result of this high pressure salesmanship she would go in for a vacuum cleaner and would, no doubt, save a few shillings a year but she has to do the cleaning herself with this 'labour-saving-device'. After a few years, when she has saved a few pounds this way, the travelling salesman will make his appearance again to sell her a newly invented dish washing machine. He will again expatiate over the performance of the machine. If her savings scraped together happen to fall short of the amount needed to pay down cash for it, the salesman obligingly will offer an installment payment scheme or a hire purchase system by which she pays a small deposit immediately, all that she may have in ready cash and the machine is left with her for use for which she should have to pay a small hire annually for five or seven years, after which the whole machine will become her sole property. She falls a victim to this

temptation and pledging her future savings installs a dish washing machine! She can now dispense with the service of the neighbour, an old woman perhaps, who came in to help wash the dishes for half an hour daily, thus perhaps saving two shillings a week, but she has now to 'attend' to the machine herself. If the vacuum cleaner or this dish washing machine needs attention, the company will send its visiting mechanic to set it right and, of course, make a small charge for his time. In this manner both the labour and the money saved by dispensing with human labour is quickly absorbed by the manufacturers, while the simple gardener's wife sloggers on like a donkey having displaced the help of other human beings. She has to put in extra work attending on those-her mechanical servants. The leisure promised to her proves illusory and whatever she saves up goes towards the purchase of some other 'labour-saving-device'. She is no better off in the end. If anything she has to work harder, all by herself driving her machines. The human labour that has been driven out of employment here will ultimately turn up at the factory gates of the manufacturers for work and wages. The story of these we shall trace later.

Has the standard of living of the gardener's wife changed so as to allow her opportunities for the free play of her higher faculties? Has this complex standard given her more time for thought and reflection? On the other hand, as she has to attend to everything single-handed she may have no time even to look into a magazine. She drudges from morn till night. All this for what? Her time is filled up with work that brings little of real life. Is this 'living' in the proper sense of the word? It is worse than mere existence.

The simple life, on the other hand, can be 'high' and present all that is finest in human life, perhaps, even better than a complex life which later kills personality as it follows ways set by others.

Taking the occasion of dining, whether the meal is taken in Western style or in Indian style there a little difference nutritively. The Indian method of eating has advantages of cheapness combined with cleanliness and affords free scope for one's ideas of art in serving. What is more colourful than a meal served on a green fresh leaf? The cream rice or chapatties with yellow dhal, white dahi, red

chutneys, brown pickles, multicoloured salad of fresh vegetables, red tomatoes etc., make a pleasing sight to start with; when the meal is over and the leaves have been removed only the floor remains to be washed out. The diners themselves, who eat with their fingers, invariably wash their teeth and rinse their mouths also after meals, which is a most desirable and hygienic habit. But those who use forks and spoons have abandoned this wholesome custom. The farthest they may go in this direction is to dip their finger tips daintily in a finger bowl of water and after moistening their lips wipe them off with a napkin! Wherein lies the superiority or higher quality of the most complicated Western style? The complex manner of life increases expense without any corresponding benefit in cleanliness or art.] Therefore, as has been already observed, the distinction is more accurately made by calling the Western method 'complex' and ours 'simple' rather than 'high' and 'low' respectively.

Within a definite mode of living there can be 'high' and 'low' standard indicating differing qualities. A man who uses fine counts for his dhoties has a 'higher' standard than one who is content with coarser cloth; while one who uses suits, cut and tailored in Western style with collar, tie and perhaps a hat, cannot be, for that reason, said to have a higher standard than one who uses just a Dhoti and Kurta. The hat *wallah* certainly has an imitation-complex standard while the dhoti *wallah* is perhaps more original in having his dhoti designed and woven to his taste locally and definitely more sensible in view of the climate. Similarly, one who eats plain rich with chillies or pickles has a 'low' standard in comparison with one who enjoys a well balanced diet.

The life of one in the 'Parasitic' or 'Predatory Economy' is certainly lower than the life of one in "Service Economy". The standard of life of a multimillionaire, however expensive it may be, is 'low' in comparison with that of an ashramite devoted to the service of the land.

In the preceding example, we discussed the Indian Dewan, who belongs to the Economy of Gregation, and has a higher standard of life, whatever his material mode of living may be, than the British gardener who at best belongs to the Economy of Enterprise.

The trend in modern life is to follow fashions by increasing the complexity competitively while lowering the human standard in so doing.

In America, home-life is being rapidly broken up by false ideas of living being disseminated. A couple may live in a flat of one or two rooms with 'labour-saving devices'. The husband will go to work in the morning and so will the wife. Each will have a snack breakfast on the way in some cafeteria, perhaps, lunch at a factory refreshment bar or grill, and the two will meet in the evening and have their supper in a restaurant and, if their combined income is big enough to support a car, will go for a drive and visit a cinema and return to their rooms to listen in to the radio. There is no house-keeping, cooking or other attributes of the home. They will not care to have bother of having children nor can their 'high' standard of living allow of it. These are they who are slaving away for the manufacturers who set the 'high' standard so as to have 'hands' readily available for the factories. The casual labour that helped the British gardener's wife, the parlour maids and other household servants have been driven to the factory gates and have had their standard of living 'raised'.

Such 'high' standards are advocated not for the betterment of the people from altruistic motives but to serve the selfish ends of interested parties. Manufacturers, apart from diverting servants into factory hands, paralyse the freedom of action and movement of their employees by such standards being set up. The bargaining power of labour is reduced in the proportion in which material standards are raised.

A mill-owner, who desires that his 'hands' should not seek periodical digression but should be regular in their attendance so that his mill production may be steady and not fluctuate, will plan on his workers leading a complex standard of existence which he will be pleased to call a 'high' standard of living. To achieve this end he will pay his workers higher wages, support a liberal-welfare schemes, and get them accustomed to amenities of factory life such as clubs, tea rooms, games, cinemas, good housing etc. The result of all this will be, that the worker who gets used to live on this level of a complex standard of the American couple we noticed, will be loathe to change places even if his

principles were violated by the factory owner. Such a standard is expensive and so he will have no reserves to fall back on, in case of being put out of employment, and being habituated to spending money on material wants, these would assume the role of necessities without which, he is led to believe, he cannot live. Thus are his freedom of movement and bargaining power curbed and the worker is glued down to his work bench. Such a standard functions like a nose-string to a bullock. It is placed there to neutralize his freewill and to make the worker amenable to the will of the employer.

The high salaries paid to public servants under a foreign government are of this nature. Many a patriot has been drawn away from his path of duty by such baits and has been so caught in the meshes as to deaden his conscience into adopting strong measures against his own people which he would never have consented to in his untrammelled and detached state. Such persons have their sense of values distorted and their will to act has been paralysed by the lure of colourful and comfortable existence.

Again, looking at it from the point of view of the bargaining power of capital and labour, if any dispute should arise between the employer and the workers, the former, having greater financial reserves, can bide his time and wait till the power of resistance of the workers is broken. The workers who live on their wages cannot hold out long before they are faced with dire need and starvation. But workers, whose method of living is simple and, therefore, inexpensive, can resist longer than those whose living is complex and expensive. Hence also is the employer interested in advocating a complex standard of living for his workers so that his workers may not be in a position to bargain with him long. Apart from these reasons concerning his workers, we have already seen how the complex modes of living afford good markets for the manufacturers as in the case of the British gardener's household. So both on the side of production and that of sales, the complex standard is a profitable one for the manufacturers.

Industrial nations, like America follow such a policy as being one of 'enlightened self-interest' but it is inimical to man's freedom of action and growth of personality.

There are other objectives in introducing or following a complex standard of life, but as these do not concern the masses intimately we shall but give a passing notice to such.

Ostentation calls for a complex standard. A person may put his servants in uniform to attract attention or appear distinguished. A uniform sinks the personality of the servant and makes him a mere functionary. He ceases to be 'Rama' of 'Din Mohamed' and becomes 'Boy', Bearer, Peon, Chaprasi, 'Driver' etc. Such servants (poor creatures that they are) do not possess such finery in private life and so hug these uniforms and are proud of them. Ostentations spending has been well termed 'conspicuous waste'. Such habits, in a poor country like ours, must be regarded 'criminal waste'.

Then exclusiveness can only be ensured by a complex standard. Travelling first class or paying high rents to live in aristocratic localities are of this category.

For our country no one standard can be fixed. Any form chosen will have to be selected after fully taking into consideration the local demands of nutrition, climate, facilities for human progress, opportunities for expressing personality, etc.

In South India, rich as staple food may be adequate but it must be unpolished and balanced with other articles like milk, dhal, vegetables, fat, etc. The climate here may not call for much clothing or any foot-wear and a mat may be sufficient bedding. In the North, wheat may do duty as a staple with other articles to balance the diet. The severe cold of winter may call for more clothing and foot-wear, charpoys or cots etc. So what is a necessity in one place may be a superfluity in another. Hence the need to judge the mode of life in close relationship with local circumstances and environment.

If the norm chosen is to lead to permanence and non-violence, it should fit into the local economy of the people. We have, in an earlier chapter, noticed how

nature works in cycles, the life of one unit forming the complement of another- and how, if this cycle is broken, violence is generated accompanied by destruction. The accepted standard of living, besides providing the opportunity for the development of one's faculties and laying out the method of expressing one's personality, should also form a link between the various members of society whereby the better equipped help the less fortunately placed ones.

The British gardener's beds may be equipped with spring mattresses. These are manufactured in factories with the labour of those who formerly, were helpers in the gardener's household cleaning carpets and washing dishes-but were displaced by labour-saving devices and drawn away by the factory owner by the lure of a complex standard of life. Such mattresses are made of steel springs which are themselves factory products. If any part of the mattress requires attention the factory's 'service squad' will have to be called. There is no organic unity between the life of the people and the production of such a mattress.

Our Dewan, leading a high but simple life, may sleep on a mat, not necessarily a coarse one. It may well be a 'Patumadai' creation with silk warp and made of reeds split into thirtytows or even finer. Those mats are cooler than quilts or mattresses and they are local products. The making of these provides scope for the matweavers to develop their sense of art and skill in workmanship and affords an outlet for their creative faculty; thus it helps in building and expressing their personality. These mats have various artistic designs worked into them and are so supple that they can be folded like silk. They are clean being washable. Of course, the high quality ones are expensive. Mats may range from 8 annas a pair to Rs. 200 each according to the material used and workmanship involved. What the Dewan may spend on these will go directly to support and maintain the artisans and their families and so forms a complete cycle with the locally available reeds which constitute the raw materials. Such an economy does not require the Army, the Navy and the Air Force to secure their raw materials, find or make the markets and to keep the long ocean lanes open and safe. Hence, they have no need of violence, as would be the case if

the Dewan patronized spring mattresses made in Britain and included them in his 'Standard of Living'.

Similarly also the Dewan's dhoti and other clothing, being of fine Khadi, made to order, will encourage local spinners and weavers and afford them full scope for development.

In such a manner, everyone of our requirements should be so linked up with local production and the life of the people around us as to form a solid well-knit economy. Only then will it lead to permanence, as it will promote healthy growth without destruction by violence.

Frequently, the standard of life is described in terms of money and materials without any reference to the lives of those around us. Such standards are artificial and so are unstable and being superimposed and superficial will not be permanent having no root in the very life of the people. The British gardener's standard of life is laid out in that fashion. Such lead to regimentation and standardization which are soul-killing.

There is no need thus to determine all the details that go to make life. What we need to do is to take care of the minimum that is essential, and direct the productivity of the people by conditioning their environments and making raw materials etc. available to them, and then safely leave the rest to their initiative and their ingenuity without further interference. Just as, if we want to raise the level of water in a tank, all we need to do is to increase the quantity of water in the tank. The level will rise of its own accord in obedience to nature's laws without any further aid from us.

If people in our country are starving or going about ill-clad, they are neither sliming for a beauty contest nor are they following the cult of the nude! They know how and what to eat and what to put on. What is needed is not a schedule but the goods-articles of food and clothing. We have to take steps to make it possible to produce these in needed quantities.

If we increase productivity of the masses and direct consumption, so as to afford a ready local market, the standard of living of the people will

automatically rise. Such a natural formation of a standard will proclaim the culture and genius of the people, and will be permanent being rooted in the life of the people.

The British gardener's standard of living was strictly individualistic in that it was not correlated to the life of the people around him. It was confined to the four walls of his house. It is said "An Englishman's house is his castle" Yes, it effectively shuts out the world however much of material creature comforts it may provide for those inside. Such isolation from the life currents around them is caused in our country also by those who follow western modes of life.

The norm we seek for is not for a single family or even a class or group but for the local population as a whole. This means the norm will interlink the life of everyone. In a way, our ancient village organization attempted something on these lines when it tried to assure every inhabitant his subsistence by allocating an annual share to each from out of the total produce of the village, in the form of 'Baluta', 'Padi' etc., to its members who serve as barbers, chamars, mochis. This system recognized that they all formed one corporate whole. But what we want, is not merely provision for bodily existence, but a provision also for opportunities of development of the higher creative faculties of man.

To refer again to our Dewan, when he wants a leather case for his papers, he would call in the mochi, specify the quality of leather he requires, and the shape, size and accommodation needed. The mochi, in his turn may get the chamar to tan the required quality leather. All this will present several problems which will have to be solved. This provides scope for ingenuity and resourcefulness. Thus the Dewan's demand opens up opportunity for the exercise of the creative faculty of those around him. If instead, the Dewan walked into a British store and bought a readymade article, such a brief case may not be exactly what he wants as he had only to choose out of the ready stock. Besides, he may not even have exercised his mind as to what he wants. The thinking would have been done in advance for him by the manufacturers, not for him in particular, but as a general preposition. When he orders a thing locally he himself thinks of the various details and decides the kind of article

he wants and then directs those around him to produce it. In this way, the life and thought of the consumer is closely entwined with the life and creative faculty of the producer, each attempting to solve the problems formulated by the other. Our lives are not independent entities but are closely one with another. A proper standard of life will then be the silken strand which strings together the goodly pearls of life-individual members of society. Such is the Dewan's standard of living in that it connected up his life not only with those of the spinners, weavers, mat-makers, chamars, mochis etc., but also with his dumb fellow creatures such as the goat that fed on his dining leaf. No man liveth unto himself. When factory made articles are used there is no such living touch with the people around. Then the standard of living is coupled to lifeless machines which are producers without any creative faculty that can be developed.

Hence, our norm of life must be such as to bring together as a living organism the various sections of society in healthy cooperation. Such a norm will not be calculated to be of use to isolated and segregated individual only but will function as a binding cement of society as a whole. There will then be mutual trust, unity and happiness which will be a source of strength and not of discord, in that society.



The Nude cult and ill-clad poverty

The staple of raw cotton taken by itself is flimsy and weak. But when thousands are spun together and the strands are twisted into a cabled rope it will be

strong enough to tow an ocean liner. Such should be the result produced by a satisfactory standard of living. It should be designed to bring together the consumer and the producer into such intimate relationship as to solidify society into a consolidated mass which alone can lay claim to permanence.

XII. WORK

Although a most commonly used word yet 'work' is perhaps one of the few words whose meaning people never take the trouble to consider. What is work? What function does it perform in the economy as ordained by nature?

One of the great problems facing the nations today is the provision of work for the millions, so it is imperative that the significance of work should be fully comprehended. In an earlier chapter, we considered how in nature the various factors that make for continuity and permanence are brought together by natural agents to serve the eternal order of the universe-worms as fertilizers of the soil, birds' as carriers and sowers of seeds, bees as fluidizers of plant life. Such is work and such is the life mission of these creatures in nature.

As regards man also, we discussed what life was, and what its constituents were, apart from mere existence. As distinct from the lower orders, man could exercise his freewill and bring together diverse units of nature to serve their purposes better. In so doing he himself can develop his faculties and also be able to express his personality through the application of his scale of values in solving the practical problems before him. This then constitutes work for man and also its function.

For a proper understanding of what work is, it is necessary to consider the simplest form of it in the early history of man, shorn of all its manifold and confusing appendages with which it is enshrouded today. The origin of work, in its purest form, can be traced to the early days of man when his ways began to diverge from those of the instinct-driven animals when he began to make himself tools out of stones. His work was to supply his own needs using his intelligence forethought and resourcefulness in a way similar to how a bird builds itself a nest and goes about in search of food. Man worked to serve and please himself. There was no wage other than the satisfying of his personal wants. This activity was healthy enough to sharpen his faculties and to let him grow as a thinking animal. He brought his finds and kills home, to his simple cave-dwelling where his woman dressed them and got them ready for eating.

Thus began housekeeping as the beginning of woman's work. To this day, at least in our country, women's work follows this pure form of supplying one's needs oneself in one's own home.

Constituent Elements of work: When work is analysed it is found that it is a compound of many parts, each contributing its share towards the achievement of the final goal. In the main it consists of routine and rest, progress and pleasure. We cannot isolate any one of those from the others and constitute it into a living unit capable of existence by itself, we cannot give the routine part of it to one man and the resting part to another, neither can a third party appropriate all the pleasure to himself. In music, each note has its characteristic timing or rest, which forms an integral part of the note itself which would have no meaning without that period of rest. A man, who aspires to become a musician, has to put in hours of routine practice of scales and chords, only by so doing can he ultimately obtain the joy of rendering in music his deep emotions. This routine cannot be * detailed out to one so that another may feel the joy of success. One may passively enjoy music-tune in the radio. But, that does not make a musician of one. Similarly, everything that is worth doing demands repeated practice.

To take another example, a proper diet is constituted of roughage, nutritive elements and taste. One who desires to have the taste only without the bother of masticating the whole meal, may, with the help of modern science, get what he wants but he will not be able to sustain himself on it for any length of time. So also the roughage in our diet plays the most important part of aiding digestion and full assimilation. Similarly, all the constituent parts of work are essential to get the best out of it and to let it serve its definite purpose ordained by nature.

Since time immemorial, man has used his freewill in trying to break up work into its component parts, passing on the routine to those who are helpless to resist and appropriating to the strong the pleasures to be derived from work. The routine was shouldered on the slaves while the master enjoyed the fruits of his labour. The civilizations of Greece and Rome were based on such

misappropriation of pleasure and avoidance of routine. Consequently they have perished leaving behind just their ashes of greatness to tell their tale as a warning to us. Not heeding this, the modern industrial empires are repeating the same effort to reserve for the manufacturing countries the benefits and pleasures, while shifting unmitigated drudgery to raw material producing countries. Being contrary to the order ordained by nature, such attempts are bound to fail. In our own times we have a visible demonstration of the devastating violence generated by such efforts to thwart nature. These periodical global wars are the means through which the empire countries are trying to impose their will on the rest of mankind. For a while they may appear to succeed, but since the seed of destruction and decay is in it, any such organization brought about by violent means will perish in due course.

We noticed, in previous chapter, how the makers of 'labour- saving-devices' by their successful high pressure sales organization drove out household servants, farmers and field labour, and converted them into factory 'hands' for themselves to tend their machines. Such a transformation in England naturally left its countryside uncultivated as there was none to attend to the farms and fields. No country can live on coal, iron and tin. It must have food. This made it imperative for England to hold other countries in political subjection to obtain its food supplies and other materials, as it cannot afford to depend for such essentials on the tender mercies of others or leave it to the vagaries of unaided private commerce. Other countries, naturally, will not meekly submit to such subjection, and, hence, violence has become the foundation stone of life in England. Every alternate generation sheds its youth and talent on the battle fields to accomplish and maintain its organization. Is this a sensible arrangement? Generally speaking, the man in the street will acknowledge the futility of this method which has to be sustained by periodical slaughter of the innocents. Therefore, to confuse the issues, all the means available-advocating a complex standard of living, a system of education giving false values, glorifying violence-have been used to mislead the public, whose unquestioning support is needed to maintain such an order. The devastating effects of such propaganda are to be noticed in mothers' sacrificing the lives of their sons with

pride for such a purpose, and wives urging their husbands to risk themselves on the battle-fields. It is natural for a mother to take pride in the fact that her son has been trained to murder other innocent sons on a mass scale and get killed himself in the effort? Can a loving wife contemplate the sacrifice of her beloved on the altar of International Robbery? Yet, these results have been obtained by infusing into the minds of the people a scale of false values, which treacherously enforces them to use their freewill to stray into paths of violence and destruction, which in their normal lucid thinking they would naturally flee from.

To make such a perversion possible violence has been glorified. Murder in retail is visited by capital punishment. But murder in wholesale of innocent young promising lives is rewarded by national honour being accorded to the doers of such dastardly deeds, by the conferment of titles, by erecting monuments in their memory in holy places of worship such as the Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's Cathedral. Is there not something radically wrong in a system which has to resort to such devious ways to maintain itself? The public is rendered senseless by having its finer feelings benumbed by this topsy turvy order. The complex standard of living, we considered in the previous chapter, is helpful in that it leaves the people no time to contemplate the situation in calmness. It keeps them self-satisfied and complacent, leaving those in power to pursue their ends unhampered.

The *modus operandi* is simplicity itself. We saw that as ordained by nature man works only to satisfy himself. So his wants are the direct stimuli for him to put forth the effort. Increase his wants and the greater will be his effort. Here is the *raison d'etre* of the advocacy of a created multiplicity of wants, in other words, of the so-called 'raising' of his material standard of living or making it complex, which we noticed functioned like a nose-string to a bullock. It curbs man's will restricting his freedom of movement and action and directs him into the ways desired by the one who holds the reins. The one who is under such a lead is soon bereft of his reasoning faculties and follows unquestioningly.

We also noticed that today the world is under the heels of the large scale manufacturer, who stands to gain by stifling the voice of the people and by spreading an organization which will bring him profits either way. During peace interludes he makes and sells bicycles, and, while war clouds darken the skies he turns his attention to the manufacture of bombs and guns. To his dictates, camouflaged by self-interest, the foolish public lay down gladly the lives of their beloved to make this order possible. All this is directed towards isolating the routine element of work with the discipline it involves, and securing only the satisfaction and pleasure which labour well done brings with it.

Wholesome work provides our body with energy, health and rest just as a well balanced diet does. It provides bodily exercise while affording, at the same time, opportunities for mental development and satisfaction. The modern tendency, however, is to avoid the discipline work involves, passing it all on to one class of society which is helpless; reserving to the dominant class all the pleasurable consequences of work. It is sought to distil out the component parts of work to this end and then the bodily exercise alone in a pleasurable form, without the drudgery part of work, is obtained in pill form in games like Golf, Tennis, Cricket, Hockey, Football, etc. which are all naturally expensive luxuries beyond the reach of the poor.

Truncating work in this manner is like the way they manage on ocean liners to provide the muscles with the kind of movements they are accustomed to on land in games and hobbies which for obvious reasons cannot be indulged in on a boat. On such liners the gymnasiums are equipped with machines which provide the substitutes for horse-riding, boating etc. The horseman bestrides a saddle on a mechanical horse, holding the reins switches on the electric contraption into a 'trot' or a 'gallop'. The saddle gives the semblance of jerks one gets on a horseback on land although here the rider has no live spirited animal under him. Similarly, there are oars for the boating enthusiast to pull away at, seating himself at a bench and kicking his feet on to a rest. The oars are provided with springs to give the resistance of water. Here we have horse-riding and boating bereft of the natural pleasures attendant on them on land-the scenery, the

pleasure of movement through the air and over water. For a few days for the duration of the voyage, such contrivances will answer the purpose but they cannot be substitutes for all time for the natural counterparts.

Thus is work broken up into the component parts into routine and play, and some people are relegated for all time to do the hard routine, and a few appropriate to themselves the play part of it. When work is so divided without the balancing factor, the routine becomes drudgery and the play part becomes indulgence. Both are equally detrimental to human progress and well being. The slave dies of privations and the lord of over-indulgence. These efforts, which have been made repeatedly through the ages, have adequately demonstrated over and over again their impotency to lead man to his maturity. In our own generation, this attempt to secure the pleasures apart from the discipline has let loose on humanity the wolves of war, pestilence, famine and death. Are we not to cry 'halt' and take note?

XIII. DIVISION OF LABOUR

Not one will dispute the benefits to be obtained from a division of labour, which makes for specialization and efficiency. In our land, such specialization has held sway since time immemorial and it has even gone to seed, having become hereditary and caste bound. Such an extreme has also led to difficulties and to a blind alley.

Under the plea of a wholesome division of labour, Western industrialists have broken up work into minute processes in such a way that work and drudgery have become synonymous terms associated with all the undesirable qualities of a curse.

Work, to be healthy and beneficial to the worker himself, apart from all considerations on the product, should have diversion and variety in sufficient measure in every sub-divided unit of it to prevent its becoming a strain on the nerves. There is, therefore, a limit beyond which division of labour cannot go without impugning its claims to wholesomeness.

The sub-divided unit must be as near a whole industry in itself as it possibly can be and not be reduced to a mere process of an industry. For instance, if carpentry is to be subdivided, it may well be into wheel-wrights and oil-mill makers. These two are highly skilled departments each affording full scope for all the faculties of the artisans. The products also are complete marketable units. Instead of this, if these crafts were further subdivided into makers of spokes and felloes for the wheels on the one hand, and into hewers of wood on the other, it would be verging on drudgery. In leather crafts, shoemaking or even specializing in chappals can be a healthy unit, while the mere cutting out of pieces of leather for the soles or the uppers of shoes cannot stand by itself as a healthy sub-division. In modern factories, such division of work into its minute processes has gone to such an extent as to limit a man's operation and attention to driving a nail or screwing on a nut bolt. Take a shoe factory. An electrically driven belt moving horizontally will carry hundreds of lasts on which the various operations incidental to the making of a shoe will be

performed by the operators stationed all along the line. As the bare last moves up the first man on the line, who will have by his side a pot of sticky paste and a brush, will dab the last with the paste on the sole as it passes in front of him. He will repeat this operation on hundreds of lasts that will move past him from eight in the morning till five in the evening with a break for lunch in the middle.

To repeat such actions for eight hours a day for 300 days in the year is enough to cause a nervous strain which will send the worker to the mad house whatever may be the wages offered.

Is it any wonder that in the most industrialized country in the world, in the U. S. A., more people suffer from nervous disorders than from all other forms of ailments ?* Man's constitution is not an inanimate machine. His system calls for a balance of operations which will exercise all his faculties. This condition can only be ensured by a wide enough unit of work.

Too small units, which are merely processes, are highly wasteful of man power as it puts workers out of action in a short time. A hardworking labourer is made a wreck by the time he reaches 45 years of age. But this wastage is shifted from the manufacturer to society by the wage system rendering it possible for the industrialist to flourish in spite of this great loss in man power. The employer is totally unconcerned with the destruction his system of work causes. If one of his workers breaks down he is immediately discharged and a more youthful one is taken on. There is no love lost. The employer thinks no more of dispensing with a man who has wrecked his life in his service than of throwing away a smoked bit of a cigar. If anything, in casting off such worn out persons he stands to gain as the younger man may bring in more energy. There is no liability attaching to the employer for so drawing the life out of his man. Is this not a callous waste of human faculties and life? Can such waste lead us to permanence? Any little higher wage such workers may appear to enjoy is but the realization of present value of their life after 45 years of age.

An excessive emphasis laid on wages, the product or the maintenance of a complex standard of life, ignoring the higher faculties of man, deprives man of the use of his freewill and distorts his scale of values.

Under such circumstances the labourer's condition and work are like that of a bullock that drives an oil mill. The bullock being blind folded does not see where or how it goes. Being controlled by its nose string, which is not even guided by a man but is only fixed to the machine itself, the animal turns eternally to the left walking round and round all day within a circumscribed area getting nowhere by its movement. No doubt the oil presser gives it a little oilcake, with a complacent feeling of generosity, out of the lot that is made by the bullock's toil during the day. Our mill hands fare no better. The joy of life and the healthy atmosphere of freedom are not for them. They are deprived of all opportunities of growth and development. This is not work as designed by nature. Hence it can only bring to the workers ruin and decay of their higher faculties. No money wage can compensate for that loss.

While the manufacturers thus attempt to avoid for themselves drudgery and appropriate only the play and pleasure of work our socialist friends dream of scooping out leisure from work. Properly understood work of the right sort contains leisure or period of rest within itself. Leisure is an integral part of work just as rest is an essential component of a musical note. The two cannot be taken apart. Leisure is not a complete cessation of all activities. That will be death. Neither is leisure idle time. Idleness leads to deterioration. Beneficial leisure provides rest to one faculty, while other parts of our personality are being exercised. A mental worker at his desk needs an active hobby like gardening to form a complement to the nervous strain caused by desk work. Any work to fulfill proper function as ordained by nature, and not mutilated by man, must contain these complementary parts in itself.

Once I was discussing this aspect of work with an experienced engineer. He remarked that he could not conceive how there can be work and rest at the same time. To explain this theoretically it may be difficult, but to demonstrate it is easy, and so I suggested he should visit any artisan and analyse the

proposition himself. He accepted this suggestion and took me to a school master who eked out his living by making caps and requested me to point out wherein lay leisure and wherein diversion or rest in the making of caps.

The school-master, on being asked to show us how he set about the task of making a cap, brought out his work basket, took a piece of plush-like material and cut out an oval shaped piece. Then taking some red coloured lining cloth cut out also a similar piece. To this he attached some pieces of old newspaper and stitched some floral designs with the sewing machine, and then sewed this on to the plush top. After that with punches he fixed some eyelets through these to serve as ventilating holes on the top of the cap. While the master was busy with his manifold operations, I was explaining to the engineer that the obtaining of the raw material presented certain problems for the master to solve in international trade as the plush came from Italy and the red lining cloth from Japan; that when the master was occupied with the cutting operations with his scissors one faculty of his was functioning, when he was sewing on the floral design the artistic faculty, when he was punching on the eyelets for ventilators still another part of his nervous system was called into action diverting his energies from the artistic employment the faculty of which was now having its rest.

While we were talking about these matters the master's little child cried in the backyard of the house. Promptly the master got up, left his work and ran to the child, picking it up scolded his wife roundly for allowing the child to cry while visitors were in the house. While the master was having this unholy row with his spouse I said to the engineer, "There, now he is having his relaxation and recreation". The engineer burst out into a laughter and got up to go saying "I fully grasp your meaning".

Life when it is allowed to run its natural course is resourceful enough to provide for itself all it needs without any further conscious effort on our part.

Such then is work and its function in life. It makes it possible for man to use his faculties and develop himself during his own life-time and leave behind him his

personality indelibly stamped on the product of his work that which is the best part of him.

We saw how an artist transfers his sense of beauty to a piece of canvas and leaves behind a masterpiece for posterity to cherish and admire. While that artist was dabbing bits of paint on to the canvas it must have seemed hard work-drudgery of days and days. But such labour had to go into the making of a masterpiece. A lithograph may avoid such drudgery and hard work but its products are as wastepaper when compared with the work of the real artist.

Even before the work of the picture is launched on, hours of hard work were necessary for the skilful mixing of paints and blending of colours. The colours used at the Ajanta Caves must have taken decades to evolve to have attained such perfection as to have lasted all these many centuries. The artists of those times did not grudge the labour on it; and posterity pays its obeisance to them for their peerless gift. Those artists did not devise ways and means of obtaining the effect without the labour involved. Nature is a hard task-master. It never awards permanence to grudgingly rendered work. If we wish to attain permanence we must put in *whole work*, no transient labour which satisfies only the passing moment will answer the purpose. Nature refuses to be browbeaten or cheated.

Similarly, a beautiful emblem of devoted labour has been bequeathed to generations yet unborn by those creators who hewed out of living rock the whole edifice of a temple at Ellora. That sense of proportion and symmetry are not the result of an attempt to shirk work nor the outcome of seeking shortcuts so as to avoid labour. It is the product of an opportunity squarely faced. Labour properly directed blesses those who work and also the products of their labour.

To give out one more example of faithful work well done, there is a steel pillar near the Kutub Mimar at Delhi bearing an ancient inscription. This pillar has stood in the open exposed to sun and rain, heat and cold for centuries on end, yet, there is not a speck of rust on it. The composition of this alloy has confounded the best of modern metallurgists. The iron smiths of old who cash this wonderful pillar did not seek any shortcuts to produce this effect. They did

not shirk the routine labour and discipline involved in manufacturing such metal. They took work as nature meant it to be. Hence we have this monument declaring that fact to us today.

One would associate the idea of wealth and comfort with the industry of mining gold. But this system of relegating drudgery to one class and appropriating pleasure by another has made the district of the most famous gold mines in India one of the poorest localities. The farmer of that district has been reduced to such a wretched condition financially that he is driven to maintain a 'dual purpose cow', i.e., a cow yields a few drops of milk at one time and when dry is used to plough the land !

While on a visit there I was taken down the shaft of one of the deepest mines, about 7000 ft. There in darkness made visible by small Davy's lamps men worked in tunnels, blasting the rock, in dust, in dirt and danger from morning till evening for a pittance that hardly helped to keep the wolf from the door. The strain of this labour was so great that men were completely done up when brought up into the fresh air and light. This district contributes the greatest revenue from liquor to the State. Is it a wonder that after the nerves of the miners had been strained to this extent they should find refuge in the oblivion provided by merciful alcohol? Venereal diseases are also rampant among such miners. Wherever the nervous system is overwrought it is but to be expected that it will naturally rush for relaxation made available in wine and women. This is a pathological condition of the human constitution. At the end of my visit, when the manager of the mine asked if I could suggest any social welfare work that he can introduce for the betterment of the conditions of life of the miners I gave him these two alternatives-1. The best welfare work will be to restore the dignity of work and labour by closing down such a mine, or in the alternative, 2. To provide more liquor shops to enable the men to drown their miseries. It is needless to say that these shocked the manager, and that neither of them were found acceptable as the company was one which paid the heaviest dividends. Money and gold were much more to them than human beings.

If we are to derive full benefit from work as designed by nature we have to keep as close as we can to the simple original form of work without dividing it up into its ineffective parts.

Wages: We saw that nature rewarded work in a wholesome manner by conferring benefits on the worker. Such benefits derived from work are the natural wages.

As life became more and more complex, division of labour was brought into being by man with a dole in the form of a money wage representing a share of the natural benefit derived on the whole. But such complications need not carry us off our track if we constantly keep the true function of work before us.

Unfortunately, since the appearance of the wage system, the emphasis had shifted from the function of work to the product of work, so much so that today the product holds the field to the exclusion of the function. An employer thinks of the product he can sell with the greatest profit in the open market. He proceeds to obtain such products with the least cost. He offers a wage for making it. The overcrowded labour force volunteers in keen competition to produce the articles for a wage whatever may be the moral outcome, conditions of work, the methods adopted and their consequences. No scale of values other than money enters into the equation. In this manner, work has been commercialised and labour has been degraded into a commodity at the disposal of the highest bidder. The employer seeks to obtain his labour at the cheapest rate possible.

A slave trader wants sailors to man his ships to transport slaves captured in the West Coast of Africa to the plantations of the U. S. A. or a poppy planter wants labour on his estate for producing opium to be forced down on China. The required labour should be forthcoming regardless of any social or moral consideration, other than money wages. Thus moral values etc. are sought to be sterilised.

When a mother nurses her baby or cooks food for her children she functions in the way intended by nature in the 'Economy of Service'. All the return she gets is the joy of seeing her children well fed and happy-that is her wage'.

From this there is a fall to the 'Economy of Enterprise' when a wet nurse feeds the baby or a hired cook prepares the meals. In either case the mother's work and function has been commercialised. The wet nurse and the cook derive their satisfaction from the amount of money-wages received, the good of the children takes a secondary place.



A mother nursing the child

Then we descend further to the 'Economy of Predation' when the natural mother's milk is sought to be substituted not out of mere necessity but to preserve the mother's 'figure', and the poor baby is bottle-fed on synthetic milk. The manufacturer does not worry about the baby but is only concerned to push his goods in the market by all forms of claims for his product and concern for the mother's 'figure'.

When the extravagant claims of baby feeds do not bear any close relation to facts we go right down to the 'Parasitic Economy' where the profit made is the overruling consideration irrespective of any harm that may befall the baby. Thus ultimately the natural function of the mother is sought to be performed by various agents for a money reward. Thus the dignity of work of the mother is lost along with the healthy constituents attached to it, all that is left being pure commerce which is bought and sold for money.

At one time, Kashmir used to manufacture a kind of carriage rug with furry appearance-somewhat like a turkish towel—these were extremely soft and warm and needed skill in making them. They also took a long time to produce

with the consequence that they were comparatively expensive. These gradually fell out of use-yielding place to mill-made rugs.

Once a worker of the Charkha Sangh found some poor labourers breaking stones for road making. On enquiry he discovered these were skilled weavers of this type of rugs who were specialists in that particular department of the art. When their product was dislodged they lost their occupation and the world of art the use of their trained faculties.

By the shifting of the emphasis from work to the product, skilled workmen are reduced to stone breakers. Is this an economic and natural utilization of human faculties? Such is the degradation of work caused by the money wage system ignoring the function of work.

Importation of manufactured wares have deprived artisans of the benefit of ennobling work. Earlier we noticed how independent farmers in England were converted into subservient 'hands' in British Factories. The imports of the products of such factories have driven human beings in our country to compete with dumb animals for a livelihood. In most cities it is a common sight to see man taking the place of bullocks and horses in drawing carts and rickshaws. This is the counterpart of the 'Labour Saving Devices' in the industrialized countries. It may save labour in England, but drives men in India to desperation to find the where-withal to keep body and soul together. What may cause plenty *n one sphere should not create scarcity in another, if it lays claim to solve problems without bringing in its wake a crop of fresh difficulties. Is it progress to reduce a skilled artisan into a stone-breaker or a rickshaw puller, and thus make them compete for the fodder of animals?

We have restore work to its pristine glory as the moulder of character and the developer of the best in human faculties. This can be done only by releasing work from its fetters and allowing it free scope to function naturally.

Man needs the fire of work to let him glow with the radiance of life. Proper work will radiate warmth, not only to the actual worker, but to all those around. When a devoted mother works hard for her children not only does she find her own happiness in it but the whole household comes under effect of her

love and devotion. The children are well-looked after in body and in mind and they will grow up to be sturdy citizens. A nurse or a house-keeper, however efficient, cannot replace a mother in the home.

In the same manner, the true function of work cannot be performed by the mere bait of money wage. Just as mother-love cannot be bought or sold, the professional interest in work loses much by commercialization.

A physician, who takes an interest both in the patient and the disease, and studies every case diligently, will gain much more experience and knowledge than one who attends on his patient for the fees he gets. The former works because he loves the work, the latter practices because of his desire for wealth. The first is strictly a professional man while the second is but a trader in medicine and so far as he prescribes patent medicines he becomes a salesman of the manufacturers. A man may be dying but in a money-based economy, if he has not the money to pay the fees of a good physician he will not be given any attention. Another man may be just fussy, but if he has a fat purse, all the medical profession will be at his beck and call.

In the same way, a lawyer who takes a moral interest in his case and deals with it on that level is a professional man, while another who takes his case for the fees he is paid, is only commercializing law. There is many a man rotting behind bars today just because he is not able to produce the wherewithal to satisfy the voracious appetite of his lawyer.

Unfortunately, every walk of life has been brought down into the market place and is held firmly under the grip of money economy, so much so that it is hardly possible to meet with professional persons with a human outlook.

In all these cases we have examined, the emphasis has shifted from work to wages, and as there is no creative factor in wages, progress is absent. People deplore that the science of medicine in our country has not produced any research-worker worthy of notice. The reason is not far to seek. The profession is being practised on the level of the 'Parasitic Economy' or that of 'Predation'. Few indeed reach that of the 'Economy of Enterprise'. The rare ones in the

'Economy of Gregation' or that of 'Service' are hardly effective because of the enormous field and the lack of facilities in an organized fashion.

Such dearth of true and honest workers is felt in every sphere of life. Perhaps it is indispensable in a money-ridden economy where the emphasis has shifted progressively from work to wages and produce.

If the nature of work is properly appreciated and applied, it will stand in the same relation to the higher faculties as food is to the physical body. It nourishes and enlivens the higher man and urges him to produce the best he is capable of. It directs his freewill along the proper course and disciplines the animal in him into progressive channels. It furnishes an excellent background for man to display his scale of values and develop his personality.

Conclusion: We have noted that the attempt at division of labour ended in shifting the emphasis from the function of work, and fixing it on the produce as far as the owner of machines was concerned, and on wages in regard to the workers. The consequence of this has been disastrous in that the most important aspect, the reaction of work on the worker has been lost sight of.

We also noticed that in nature the motive for cooperation was the self-interest of the worker and the benefit derived directly. The honey-bee does not consider the fertilizing of the plants as its primary duty but concerns itself mainly with obtaining nectar and pollen which, from the point of view of nature, are its full and undivided wages for services rendered.

Division of labour has also resulted in subdivision of the benefits derived into profits, salaries, wages, rent, interest etc. which has had the effect of depriving the worker of the bulk of the fruits of his labour. The exploiter has stepped in and has carried away a large slice of the benefits like the wax-moth in a honeycomb eating away the products of the activity of the bee.

Our analysis leads us to the conclusion that self-interest is the only incentive in nature for creatures to extend their co-operation. All efforts to nibble away such benefits are contrary to the Economy of Permanence and will lead to violence sooner or later. Socialists, who aim at equitable distribution but plan

on collecting the profits together first and then set about distributing, are going counter to their bountiful nature, which rewards directly. This socialist method also will spell violence in the long run.

Planning : Though this is not the place to consider in detail a proper scheme of Planned Economy, yet it may not be out of place to point out at this stage that no plan centering its consideration solely on products and wages will be in alignment with nature. Any plan to answer our purpose and to lead to the achievement of the Economy of Permanence will have to be centered on the function of work, and be founded on the capacity and the nature of the human being for whom the work is intended.

A farmer had his grains harvested and stored in his barns, rats made inroads on his stock. Then he considered the problem and planned his household based on the ways of nature. To keep the rats away he obtained a cat: the very nature of a cat being to hunt down the rats, his method was in accordance with the natural order. Then to feed the cat he bought a cow and, finally, to look after the cow and the household he married a wife! Such functional planning will lead to success.

Unfortunately, most of the plans that are brought out at present are product-centered with a certain amount of attention paid to wages. As in Germany and Russia, such plans will no doubt produce quick results, but they will not be lasting and in time will generate violence, as they do not follow the way of Permanence.

[In Part II of this book, while dealing with the question arising out of 'Man in Gregation', we shall have occasion to consider our approach to a planned economy as well as discuss such subjects as Democracy, Government or State, Trade Exchange, Communication, Natural resources, Education, etc.]

PART TWO

INTRODUCTION

In the first part of this book we considered man as an individual and saw how he acts as a single creation. We noticed the way. Nature works and we observed that science is our study of Nature and its working, and the object of science is to enable man to work along the lines on which the universe moves. Any deviation from this leads us into violence and disorder. Most creatures work in alignment with Nature merely by instinct, but man, with his gift of freewill and intelligence, co-operates with Nature consciously, this being the main difference between the lower orders and man. We noted the various standards of values that man, in this conscious existence, Utilizes to gauge his action and the part work plays in developing and improving his faculties.

When man works in this way he is able to bring about an economy of permanence which will do away with the need for periodic upheavals in the form of global wars.

In this second part of the book we shall study how man lives in Gregation.

Among animals also there are to be observed forces which bring like creatures together for certain purposes. In the case of animals of prey, such as the wolf, they hunt in packs, their motive is self-centered and their life is parasitic.

On the other hand, we have animals which get together, for motives other than aggression, and very often purely for defence, such as herds of cattle and elephants. Here though taken individually each has a selfish motive in its own safety, yet in the aggregate each has a duty in defending the whole.

The social and economic order of the West as we had observed in the first part, being parasitic, can be placed in the pack type of gregation, depending for its welfare on the harm it can do to other groups. From the parasitic stage we advance on through predatory and enterprising stages to the gregarious stage.

In the gregarious stage, as we have seen, there can be two kinds, the pack-type which represents the right-centred economy and the herd-type which represents the duty-centred economy.

As man evolves, his consciousness of duties enlarges and he becomes more and more aware, not of the benefits he gets by being a member of society, but of the duties he is to perform towards the well-being of that society. In the final stage he reaches the service economy in which he realizes himself in the service of others.

In this part of the book we shall consider not the gregation of the pack-type but man working together for the common good of mankind.

What the world needs today is the knowledge of how people can work together and bring about general welfare of mankind without involving the destruction of others. It may be that in this economy the apparent well being may not be flashy but it would certainly be lasting.

The Western pack-type gregation economy is today an example of what would be the result of following those methods. Those who have eyes to see need only behold and note in what state Europe is today to study the end of the pack-type gregation. Nearly 150 years of large scale production at a feverish heat has resulted in starvation and nakedness and lack of consumers of goods, not to mention the millions of lives that have been lost and the untold material wealth that has been either blown up into the air or sunk in the sea, leaving man tearing his hair not knowing what to do next. The pack-type gregation, therefore, is one of which we should beware, as we are interested only in bringing about an economy of permanence. The economy of pack-type gregation ultimately leads to conflict and destruction. Though it may seem to flourish for a while it ends up in a conflagration and therefore it is in the long run a transient economy. Hence we need not spend our time and effort in studying the working of this type of economy in India.

For our part, as we are interested in an economy of permanence, we have to study how man should act in a group and as a group to be able to work towards an economy of permanence.

In the first part of this book we saw man's action individually in the group. We studied the values that should govern his consumption.

In this second part we shall see how man should act as a group in production as well as in distribution. Here there are three forms in which man may be said to work as a group. (1) In production he works individually, though in certain processes he may have to combine with others similarly placed. This part of man's work along with his neighbours, considers not only his interest, but also theirs and in the long run his larger interests. (2) Then man works jointly, in a group of similar interests, this we call co-operative effort, which is the second type of work in gregation. (3) Then comes the third type where the short range work having been assigned to individuals and co-operative bodies, the purely long range work is taken up by a body of selfless individuals who perform their duties purely with a view to benefit society at large. Such a group we call the State. At the present time it is difficult to point out anywhere in the world where the State is composed of the type of individuals who would be qualified to undertake this responsibility. The present forms of States are largely failing in their duty towards the common man.

We shall first take up planning for the group, then we shall consider how economic activity is carried on by individuals in conjunction with their fellow-being. Then we shall look at the various functions that can be done by co-operative effort, and finally we shall study how the State can work and what the State can do to accomplish the ends for which the people are striving. In all of these we have to keep before us the various principles we have studied in the first part, as these will also govern the actions of men when they act in gregation.

The scheme put forward in part I and part II, if worked out thoroughly, ought to lead us ultimately to social order based on non-violence which should provide the people with plenty as far as their primary needs are concerned and would bring about peace amongst nations.

THE NEED AND NATURE OF PLANNING

What is it that we plan for? Many people think that national planning is a very intricate matter to be understood only by technicians and experts. Planning will have no life if the man in the street does not understand what we are planning for. We cannot call it national planning if the farmers do not comprehend the purpose of it and lend their whole-hearted support to the carrying out of the plan. Unless we are able to get that intellectual understanding we shall not be able to carry through our plan, except by tremendous violence as has been done in Russia. We do not want bloodshed to carry out our plan. The people should understand whether or not what is laid before them is to their interest. If they approve of it we shall have their willing co-operation.

Our object is to organise the villages for a happier, more prosperous and fuller life in which the individual villager will have the opportunity to develop both as an individual and as a unit of a well integrated society. This has to be done by using local initiative and local resources to the utmost extent possible in the economic, political, and social fields, building these on cooperative lines. Self-reliant and properly organised life in the villages will thus be the aim of our planning. Whatever schemes of activity are taken up locally should not merely be good for the locality, but should fit in harmoniously with the general plan. Such work should ultimately lead to the establishment of a just and democratic social order.

WHAT IS PLANNING

Planning means the getting together of certain factors to serve an end. What are the factors in India that we have got to get together? There may be factors today in our plans that do not exist in other countries. Therefore, the plan that Russia has taken or the plan that England or America has followed need not necessarily be the same that will lead us to the goal.

When the plan of Great Britain is mentioned it will cause astonishment. People have never heard of it. The British do not plan but they work to plan. That is

their genius. They get every man to work to a certain plan. Were there no plans there would have been no British Empire and there would be no British trade. So the whole of their financial schemings and imperial preferences, the fleet, and the shipping policy-all these make the plan. It may not be a national plan; it may be a London centred plan, or may be a Bank of England centred plan; but it is a plan all the same.

Therefore all these plan whether it is the Soviet Plan, or the American Plan, or the British Plan-they all have certain factors for their background. If these factors do not exist in our country and those circumstances do not hold good here at present, and yet if we plan on the same lines as they had done, then we shall surely fail.

PLAN OF ACTIVITY

In India, afflicted with poverty, dirt, disease and ignorance, our plan should cover the following main centres of activity.

1. Agriculture
2. Village Industries.
3. Sanitation, Health and Housing.
4. Village Education.
5. Village Organisation.
6. Village Culture.

THE AIM

When the Russians planned, Russia was under the Czarist regime. The aristocrats were rolling in wealth and the peasants were extremely oppressed. Naturally, the peasants said: "When we come into power, we must be rolling in wealth." Rolling in wealth means satisfying a multiplicity of wants-palatial houses, plenty of material goods, pleasures and the rest of it-and they made that their goal and they worked towards that. Their plans took root in that soil.

It has been repeatedly stated that we want to remove poverty. Poverty again is a term which requires definition. Poverty, somebody said, is inability to meet

your wants. But what is your want? Is a Rolls-Royce car a want? If you cannot meet that want, are you poor? If a lady wants a lipstick and has not got enough cash to purchase it, is she poor? There are wants which are primary needs, and there are also wants which are artificially created. There are wants without satisfying which a human being cannot live; they are needed for the expressing of his personality and for the existence of his physical body. These are the natural wants we shall endeavour to supply, not the artificially created wants.

What is the greatest of primary needs? First comes food. We may go without clothing, but we cannot go without food. In our country we are having not occasional famines, but repeated famines, and, therefore, the primary factor in our plan must be the attempt to meet that situation. Food and the prevention of famines; how are we going to achieve that? Is it by application of Capital? Many people come out and say: "You apply capital and then your results will be so much more". Learned economists have worked out the amount of capital to be applied and the percentages of increased production that will result from it, as if we have only to pour capital into the fields before they come up in crops! That cannot be the case.

In our country, the tremendous factor for production is human labour. If we wish to meet our needs we have got to utilise this enormous factor producing commodities to satisfy hunger.

As regards the method of production, there is general feeling abroad that we can build up the economic condition of the people by introducing large centralised units of production with modern machinery. This is a conception that requires to be examined carefully before we yield to it. Organising economic production means bringing together various factors in the proper manner. The chief of such factors are natural resources, capital equipment and labour. Under varying conditions varying combinations of these may be called for. In Britain, at the time of the Industrial Revolution, capital was plentiful and so in their method of production capital equipment looms large. In the U. S. A. labour was scarce while natural resources were almost inexhaustible, hence they took to labour-saving devices leading to the advent of machinery.

Expansion of such an economic organisation will naturally lead to "saving of labour"¹¹ or, in other words, creation of unemployment. Hence, in our country, where capital is scarce and labour is plentiful, the methods followed in Great Britain and the U.S.A. will naturally be out of place.

Man himself is a machine of a fine type with this difference that, unlike a mechanical contrivance, he has to be kept alive by feeding whether he works or not. Hence, even if we produce materials for consumption by mechanical aids the people will have to be fed. Therefore, the efficient utilization of the factors available will indicate extensive use of man-power as the normal method of production in our country. If we fail to adopt this mode we shall be guilty of throwing away the great labour wealth of our country. Such a course can never lead us to prosperity.

The well-being of a nation does not consist merely in the output of material production. This production is important only in so far as it enables the people to meet their wants. In the first instance, therefore we must proceed to organize the people to produce goods to satisfy their own needs, in regard to food materials to afford them an adequate diet, clothing to protect them against the weather and proper shelter; then we should arrange for their physical, mental and moral welfare by making available medical aid, education and other social amenities. Before these elementary, needs are fully met. It would be folly to aim at producing goods for the export market. Money in itself satisfies nothing except the miser's pleasure of counting it. Money is not an end in itself. If our organization is such as to put much money in the hands of the people and yet let them starve for lack of food materials, it would stand condemned. Hence, our first care is to see that the people are satisfactorily fed, clothed and housed, and only after these necessities have been adequately provided for can they be allowed to indulge in other production. To direct economic activity into this course is the first duty of any government worth the name.

Apart from the mere satisfaction of the physical needs of the people we should aim at inculcating the spirit of self-help, mutual aid, and a consciousness of

social solidarity. When we achieve this and we shall have travelled a long way on the road to Swaraj through self-sufficiency.

Here again we have to bear in mind that our plan concerns not merely a few people but every citizen in this country. The plan that we propose, if it is to be a satisfactory plan, must touch every living person in India. A broad-based plan like that, in a poverty-stricken country as ours, where finance is not available, cannot be based on the presumption that capital is available. Hence, any plan based on the availability of capital is out of court in India, and any plan that leaves out the primary need of supplying food is also out of court, and any plan that omits to take note of the factor of Indian labour wealth cannot be a proper plan for India. The Western plans are material centred. That is to say, they want to exploit all resources. To what end? That they were not sure of. Tables and chairs do not satisfy our primary needs.

If it is to be a plan for India, the plan must centre round the farmer first and then grow out of it for the whole country. It may be that ultimately we may not be as rich as England or America but we will have sufficient food. England was on the brink of starvation five years ago.

Therefore, self-sufficiency in food and clothing should be one of the prime features in any plan for India. If every village cannot be self-sufficient in food and clothing, it is no use having Swaraj. We want to assure to everybody enough food and clothing. And unless we do that, it is no plan for our country. The Tata-Birla Plan and others of its ilk require thousands, and thousands of crores of rupees to get them going. For this plan we do not require much money because we are not working on a thing which we have not got. We are only rechannelling the people's activity, we are only showing them the right way, we are only regulating their natural activities, and thereby we control the activities of millions of people into desirable lines.

II. AGRICULTURE

Our first care must be food and clothing. To this end we must concentrate on Agriculture and Village Industries. Agriculture production should be regulated and controlled keeping in mind two main considerations :

1. The locality must try to produce all its own food requirements and raw materials for primary necessities of life.

2. It must aim to supply raw materials suitable for village industries rather than for factories : for example, instead of growing thick rind sugarcane of long staple cotton, as demanded by the factories, soft rind sugarcane as can be crushed by the village '*kolhus*' for *gur* making and short staple cotton as required for hand spinning should be grown. The surplus land can be utilized to supplement crops needed by surrounding districts. Land utilized for sugarcane for the factory, tobacco, jute and other money crops should be reduced to the minimum, and, if need be, even eliminated altogether. In order to make the farmers adopt this policy, utilization of land should be regulated by issuing licenses by the government authorising the farmer to grow certain crops only according to the plans for the province and heavy dues and extra land revenue should be levied on land used to raise money crops. This will restrain the farmer's incentive to go in for money crops in preference to food crops. On the whole, prices of agricultural products should be made to compare favourable with those of industrial products by suitable control.

Commercial crops such as tobacco, jute, sugarcane etc. are doubly wasteful. They reduce the food production for man as well as for animals which would otherwise have got their fodder from food crops.

Primary products like cereals and milk should not be allowed to be used for commercial purposes for obtaining starch and casien. The supply of *gur* which may fall, due to the decline in the cultivation of factory varieties of sugarcane, can be made good by the production of *gur* from palm trees now tapped for toddy or from those which are found or can be grown in waste lands in

sufficient numbers as to fully meet our demand in this respect and the best of land, which is under sugarcane today, can be utilized for the production of cereals, fruits and vegetables that the country needs so badly.

The first thing is to start with a balanced diet. In India we have people living on cereals only, and cereals do not provide all that is necessary for the body in a compact form. If we can arrange our cultivation, so that every village cultivates what is necessary for a balanced diet, we can easily secure a balanced diet. In that way we can work out the acreage that is necessary for a particular type of food.

It is ordinarily presumed that an acre of land provides more calories through the production of grains than through any other food. But, apart from the question of calories, the grains are very poor suppliers of protective food factors. Therefore if we aim at getting these factors from cereals only huge quantities of grains will be required. On the other hand, if the grains are substituted and supplemented by foods like fruits and vegetables, milk and its products, *gur*, nuts and oilseeds, etc., the protective food factors required to make up a balanced diet may be obtained through lesser quantities of these types of food than through grains alone. Even the supply of calories per acre is greater in the case of *gur* and of the root vegetables like potato than in the case of cereal grains. Thus, a balanced diet may be a double blessing and may offer the solution to our problem. It reduces the per capita requirement of land and at the same time, it supplies the body with all its requirements in their correct proportions so as to keep it fit and healthy. It is calculated that the per capita land available in India at present for food cultivation comes to about 0.7 acres. This very land which is found to be too inadequate to meet our requirements in food according to the present distribution of cultivation becomes sufficient in the re-ordered system of agriculture. In this manner the land of the locality should be so distributed for the purpose of growing crops as to provide its population with all the needed materials for a balanced diet, clothing and all primary necessities. This aspect of the question when thoroughly investigated and a definite plan chalked out should be enforced by

licensing farmers to grow only certain crops on their lands. The table on the next page shows land distribution for balanced cultivation for a population of one lakh. This table provides for a balanced vegetarian diet yielding 2,860 calories per day for the average person and allows for the growing of cotton for 25 yards of cloth per annum per head. For non-vegetarian diet 6 ozs. of milk may be substituted by 4 ozs. of meat or fish and one egg.

Rough calculations based on all-India statistics, which of course will differ from place to place, have been given. If we allow 16 ozs. of cereals per individual, it means that 65.2 per cent of our land will have to be under cereals. Similarly, if we provide 2 ozs. of pulses per head, it means 8 per cent of our land will have to be under that cultivation.

This table is worked out on a basis of a lakh of people. If a village or contiguous area can grow these things in this proportion, then the people will have their primary wants satisfied. Hence, we must aim at growing these things. The land is a social asset, and it has got to be utilized exactly as it is needed for the community. If a man says, "I have got so many acres of land, I am going to grow tobacco," he has no right to grow tobacco simply because it may bring him more money. In a society there are many things which we cannot do as we individually would wish. You cannot, for instance, drive on the right side of the road. The ownership in land is yours no doubt, but you have got to have the use of your land marshalled in such a way that it benefits everybody. Therefore, it is suggested that a man must take out licenses for cultivating certain products. The man who has been licensed to cultivate linseed cannot grow tobacco even if it paid him ten times as much.

DISTRIBUTION OF CULTIVATION PER LAKH OF POPULATION

	Ozs. per day	Calories	Lbs per annum	Per lakh of population			Percentage and distribution
				Land required (in acres)	For seed and waste 15% extra	Total	
I. DIET							
Cereals	16	1600	365.00	43,400	6,510	49,910	65.2
Pulses	2	200	45.60	5,400	810	6,210	8.0
Gur	2	200	45.60	1,200	180	1,380	1.8
Nuts	1	145	22.80	2,600	290	2,990	} 8.4
Oil	½	255	11.40	3,000	450	3,450	
Ghee	½	---	11.40
Milk	12	240	273.75
Vegetables	8	48	182.50	1,600	240	1,840	2.4
Potatoes,							
Tubers	4	100	91.25	1,000	150	1,150	1.5
Fruits	4	52	91.25	900	135	1,035	1.4
I CLO- THING							
Cotton			12.50	7,500	1,125	8,625	11.3
Total	2860			66,600	9,990	76,590	1000

Our object is to keep the production of the villages in the villages as far as people require it; only the surplus will be exchanged with other regions for the stuff that we require. For instance, if cotton is grown in a particular village, it cannot go to the textile-mill and come back as cloth, for the simple reason that for the process of the change we have got to pay something in the form of export of commodities. If we do not want to part with our food products, we have to convert our cotton into cloths in spare time. When we do that, we retain the whole production of food, and we also get our clothing. Therefore, we are doubly benefitted. Incidentally the textile-mill-owners suffer. We are sorry for them but we have got to safeguard the poor villager. Our plan is for the betterment of the villager. And when we start with that thing and work in that way, then only we shall find that the villagers are self-sufficient in food and clothing.

Thus, having before us the ingredients of a balanced diet, we proceed to secure these through the proper laying out of the cultivable land to produce the required materials to feed the population. Then only, where there happens to be a surplus after the full needs of the local population have been satisfied, should any efforts at sending such products outside be countenanced. The marketing department would be a traitor to the land if it helped or aided in the export of materials which are in deficit even to meet the needs of the people. Similarly steps should be taken to procure all materials needed to put the people gainfully to work.

III. EXCHANGE

Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies:

Co-operative Societies are ideally suited organizations not only for developing village industries, but also for promoting group effort by the villagers. A multi-purpose village society can make itself very effective in a variety of ways such as :

1. Stocking of raw materials for industries and food grains needed by the village people.
2. Marketing of surplus village products and distributing the requirements of the people.
3. Supplying and distributing seeds, improved implements and tools, manures, such as bonemeal, flesh and fish manure, seeds etc.
4. Maintaining a common studbull for the area.
5. Standing between the government and the people in the matter of collection and payment of taxes, etc.

Much of the wastage caused to food grains in transport and handling and the expenses of bringing food grains to a central place and redistributing them again to the village can be eliminated through the agency of a co-operative society which can be a very reliable medium both from the government as well as from the public point of view.

The farmer retains the necessary amount of wheat for his family requirements and the surplus he deposits in the Co-operative Society and in return he gets the things he requires on the strength of credit he has thus created with the society. Government revenue could also be paid in kind in the same way and not necessarily in cash. Today revenue collections in cash from villagers cause a great hardship. If stock of grain are held by cooperatives societies in villages, the remuneration also of local officials can be conveniently paid partly in kind.

Money economy does not report true values. The values are changed as money passes from one individual to another. There is a great difference in value between the rupee in the hands of a poor man and a rupee in the hands of a rich man. Such transfers either increase the national wealth or impoverish the nation. Superficially a rupee appears to be a rupee, but in practice it is not so. A rupee in the hands of a poor man may mean 4 or 5 day's food provisions, whereas in the hands of a millionaire it may represent the value of a cigar. Thus, when a rupee passes from the hands of a poor man into the hands of a millionaire it loses its value considerably; conversely, money when it goes from the rich to the poor enhances in value. Hence we have got to see that in our economy we prevent money going into the hands where it will lose its value and this is what the multi-purpose co-operative society should attempt to do. It will collect the produce from the villager and will pay the government revenue in wheat or other commodities. It will pay government officials on government account in articles of food which will provide a balanced diet and when all this is carried out, ultimately, there will be only a very small adjustment to be made between government and the multi-purpose societies and that also can be done by transfer of surplus between different regions. If that can be managed we shall neutralise, though not eliminate, the evils of money economy and retain the true value as dictated by commodity value as distinct from money value.

IV. CO-OPERATIVE FUNCTIONS

The Function of a Bank: The function of any bank is to lubricate the wheels of commerce and industry and keep them moving smooth with the least friction. In addition to this a cooperative institution has to bring about active co-operation between the various factors in the whole economic organization.

The Western banks, based on money economy, count their progress by the amount of deposits etc. they have received and profit made. We cannot do that. We have to appraise the work of a bank in its relation to the well-being of the people. It has to perform various functions in the economic activity of the people and serve their needs even if it meant a loss financially. We cannot ascertain the part a bank has played by any calculation based on rupees, annas and pies.

Western banking system has been, like the needle of the Hypodermic syringe, used by the financial exploiters to draw out the life blood of the producers, The last famine of 1943 in which about 3 millions lost their lives in Bengal alone, is largely attributable to such misuse of banking powers vested in the Reserve Bank which enjoys; along with the Imperial Bank, the advantage of being the custodian of public funds, but their work is a tragedy to the people of the land. This is because of the misuse of money.

Money, when used as an instrument of exchange or as a means of storage of purchasing power, functions satisfactorily.

The tokens used as money are generally imperishable as compared with commodities and hence the money-holder is at an advantage as he has the bargaining power. A plantain-seller has to dispose of his goods before they get spoilt but the money-holder suffers from no such disadvantage. He can hold on to his money for any length of time. Therefore, in this inequality there is a factor which may be used by the money-holder to exploit the commodity-holder. Banks as a rule are holders of money. How they use their advantageous position will determine the part they play in commerce and industry. Where a

bank uses its power for strengthening its own position as an institution, and if the position of its customers deteriorates as a consequence, such a bank cannot be said to fulfill its purpose in the economic organization. This is as regards money as a medium of exchange.

Money as Storage of Purchasing Power:

Again, as regards its comparative imperishability, the right use of this quality in money is to afford storage of purchasing power to the people. A farmer cultivates his fields and disposes of his produce after harvest. He realises a certain amount in money. This money has to last him till the next harvest. That is, he should be able to exchange it for other commodities of like value over a period of twelve months. If in this period the purchasing power is altered, the position of the farmer also fluctuates in the same way. Therefore, an unalterable storage of purchasing power is a prime necessity in an agricultural country like ours. In this function, multi-purpose co-operative societies can help by restricting the spread of money economy, thus limiting the chances of fluctuation and speculation and by rendering reasonable banking services based on the security of commodities as will prevent the farmer having to dispose of his whole stock at a time.

Co-operation: This brings us to the second function of co-operation. Co-operation implies the elimination of competition and working in a kind of partnership resulting in advantages to all. Its basic requirement is an identity of interest of parties to the enterprise. There can be no exploitation in co-operation. Therefore there can be no co-operation with an exploiter at one end and his victim at the other end. Foreigners come to sell their goods to us. That is their only interest in us. It is for that, they hold others in political bondage. If co-operative societies help hand-loom weavers to obtain American yarn they are linking up in-compatibles and therefore are not functioning in the true spirit of co-operation. Their legitimate sphere would be to bring local village spinners and weavers into a living touch with one another. They have to bring about co-operation all along the line-raw material produced with artisan and

then with the consumer. The co-operative societies should be the link binding all parties together-like a silver wire that holds the pearls together.

A co-operative bank can protect the unsophisticated villagers from being duped by the government minions. Such institutions can collect the produce, store it, pay on behalf of their constituents, dues, taxes, revenue, etc., sell the goods at proper market rates, right through the year, without dumping the whole stock at a time on the market and thus causing extreme fluctuations in the price of commodities. They can function like the watertight compartments of the ocean liner and be the shock absorber in the economic organization:

The test of the proper functioning of co-operative institutions can be seen not in their financial balance sheets but in the bazars around. If these shops are stocked with mill produced goods or foreign imported articles it signifies that there has been no cooperative effort to bring the various factors of production to supply all our needs. If the co-operative institutions function properly it will promote self-sufficiency in all our primary needs such as food, clothing, and shelter. When this happens there will be nothing to attract the cupidity of the foreign manufacturer. Hence there will be no international jealousies leading to global wars. Thus the development of co-operative institutions on right lines can lead to national independence and through that to international peace.

Manure: Much of the waste of the village, including sweepings, bones, human excreta, etc., that endanger the sanitation of the village at present, could be utilized by making compost manure. This is very easily done and it is as good a manure as cow dung. Bones and oil cakes, which are usually exported out of the country, should not be allowed to leave the villages. The bones should be crushed locally with the help of the *chunam chakkis*, after being charred a little in the *chunam bhattis* and the manure distributed amongst the farmers. Manure making in villages may be given out on subsidised contracts. This will ensure the cleanliness of the village while raising the status of the sweepers engaged in making compost and manure to the level of traders.

Oil mills, which take away oil seeds from the villagers and give only oil in return, sending the cake abroad, are depriving the land of the valuable form of

fertilizer. This must be stopped altogether. This is one of the fundamental reasons why oil seeds should not be allowed to go out of the villages but should be crushed in the local country *ghanis*. This will retain both the oil and the cake in the village and enrich men, cattle and the land.

In the name of increasing the fertility of the soil, great attempts are being made to introduce chemical fertilizers. The experience gained through the use of such chemical fertilizers throughout the world is clear enough to warn us of their inroads. They do not add to the fertility of the soil but act as stimulants or drugs so that the land yields up its fertility resulting in immediate bumper crops, but in the end bring about a corresponding exhaustion of the land. They also destroy a host of earth-worms so essential to maintain the fertility of the soil. In the long run, such artificial fertilizers prove to be most injurious to the land. Behind the specious pleading for the chemical fertilizers lies the anxiety of the fertilizer factory owners to push the sale of their products irrespective of the harm or injury they do to agriculture.

Seeds : Selected and improved varieties of seeds are essential if agriculture is to flourish. What is wanted in this regard is the machinery for effective distribution of seeds in the form of co-operative societies which should run seed farms under able research workers.

Grain storage : Enormous loss of grain occurs through bad storage alone. Such loss is estimated on a conservative basis to be about 3.5 million tons, an amount equal to the declared deficit of grains in India during 1946. The qualitative loss caused by insects, rodents, dampness etc., all caused by bad storage arrangements resulting in all kinds of diseases, is equally great.

If storage arrangements are made locally all the waste through bad storage, loss by insects etc., and conveyance charges will be eliminated.

The storage problem is both an urgent and a permanent one and should be tackled in all earnestness and seriousness. In any case, holding stocks in ill-protected godowns, as at present, should be stopped.

Big towns and cities, where proportionately larger stocks of grain are to be held, can build *pucca* cement godowns. These can be built either by the Municipality or by private people to be rented out for grain storage, or better still, by Co-operative Societies.. These godowns should be licensed and subjected to periodical inspection, like the boilers, as at present.

If the stocks are held in the villages where they are produced and all their movements to town and back to villages are eliminated, the chances of their getting damaged are, of course, reduced.

Individual holders of stock also should be educated in the methods for the preservation of grain.

Conservation of Raw Materials in the Villages : The greatest handicap from which village industries suffer is the utter resourcelessness of the artisan. Being unorganised he is unable to stand against the competition from his resourceful and organised rivals, the mills. With all the resources at their command, the mills practically monopolise the raw materials and corner the market even for the finished products, leaving the isolated artisans utterly helpless. The financial policy of the banks, discriminative railway freight rates and the capitalistic marketing organization, all favour the working of large-scale production to the exclusion of the artisans. The artisans are left with hardly any raw materials in the villages. This process needs to be reversed. All raw materials produced in the villages should be conserved and consumed in their place of production and only the surplus that remains after satisfying local needs should be allowed to be sent out. Production should be directed towards raw materials needed by village industries rather than towards those required by factories.

Supply of Tools and Implements: Tools and implements of village industries are not generally of uniform efficiency throughout the land and often even in one province. Research should be directed towards devising suitable instruments.

Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies should arrange for the regular supply of equipment and spare parts to village artisans.

District Demonstration Centre: Demonstration centres of Co-operative Societies should be located in rural areas. Their function should be as follows:

1. To manufacture and supply implements and tools to village artisans and to introduce improved implements in place of old type ones.
2. To train carpenters and other artisans and to teach them the latest methods introduced into the various industries,
3. To collect tools and exhibits of local art and display them in a museum.
4. To carry on industrial and health surveys in the district.
5. To work in co-ordination with other co-operative societies and the Hindustani Talimi School for the general uplift of the villages.

V. VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

The Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies can supply raw materials, stock the finished goods and help in distributing all village industries products especially those connected with food- processing, textiles and other primary needs. They should be ever watchful of the interest of the villagers. In particular the following recommendations may be attended to :

1. Rice mills should be disbanded and the engines could be used for irrigation purposes as has been already suggested.
2. Hullers used for polishing rice should be banned.
3. People should be informed about the better nutritive value of whole unpolished rice and about the method of cooking it, along with practical demonstrations. Polishing of rice should be prohibited or its degree of polishing should be very strictly controlled, or par-boiling of paddy should be encouraged.
4. Where paddy husking is carried on an industrial scale, for business purpose, in the case of predominantly paddy growing areas, expensive equipment such as paddy separators, winnowers, etc. should be supplied on hire to a group of artisans through the Co-operative Society.
5. In view of the fact that the use of unpolished rice is to be advocated and popularised, the movement of paddy from one place to another will become necessary. In order that the freight on the extra weight of paddy may not enhance the cost of rice, the freight charges on paddy should be suitably adjusted.
6. In areas where the implements for dehusking paddy and polishing rice are the same, and both the processes are combined into one of pounding paddy, resulting in polished rice, dehusking implements, i. e., chakkis either of wood, stone or mud, should be introduced to restrict polishing. Such implements might be supplied, as also the equipments for other industries, through the District Demonstration Centres. The polishing of rice might be

discouraged by imposing a tax on implements that polish rice and the degree of polishing obtained with these should be subject to supervision and control.

Paddy and other grains and seeds required by the village should be stocked in the village itself and only the surplus could be sent out and that only through the Co-operatives Society.

2. Flour Grinding

1. Good quality stones for hand chakkis and equipment for the bullock and water driven chakkis should be made available through the Demonstration Centres.
2. The production and use of fine white flour, *maida*, should be banned.
3. Flour mills grind large quantities of grain and hold their stocks of flour for long periods. This causes such flour to deteriorate. Therefore, such mills should be discouraged.
4. Bullock-driven flour chakkis should be introduced where the necessary facilities exist.
5. Wherever water power is available from running water of a river or a canal, water driven flour chakkis can be set up.
6. Such chakkis might be owned co-operatively by the villagers as in the Punjab.

3. Oil-Pressing

The main difficulties in resuscitating the village *Ghani* are the following:

The villages are practically denuded of the oil-seeds at the harvest time. To set this right only surplus oil-seeds should be allowed to go out of the village.

At some places the local *Ghanis* are so inefficient and small that it is very high impossible to make them a practical proposition. Even in a single province - here are numerous types of *ghanis*. A detailed survey of the working of all such *ghanis* should be carried out. The working and advantages of improved *ghanis* should be demonstrated.

There is at present a great dearth of ghani carpenters even of the old type. Oilmen find it very hard to get their timely service. Their difficulty of getting equipment and spare parts is equally great. Training should be given to oilmen and carpenters in the technique of the improved ghanis at centres which will also provide the necessary equipment and spare parts.

Tahsil Co-operative Societies of oilmen or the Multipurpose Village Societies will be the best medium for stocking oilseeds, controlling the prices of seeds, oil and cake eliminating adulteration etc.

4. Gur Making

Gur making from palms is being done on a commercial scale in Bengal and Madras where the industry has been well established.

Preservation and Planting of more palms ; Felling of palm trees should be prohibited, government owned waste land, unsuited for agricultural purposes, should be utilized for raising palms so as to be sufficient to replace cane gur and sugar by palm gur in due course. Also cultivation of palms on similar private lands and field bunds should be subsidised. Adequate supply of seedlings should be arranged and proper methods of cultivation should be taught.

Co-operative Societies: Co-operative Societies should take up the production and market the produce. They should also supply, where needed, equipment such as pans and centrifugal machines on hire.

5. Bee-Keeping

Bee-Keeping is doubly useful. It enables better fertilization of the crops giving the farmers a better yield, and at the same time provides honey, a nutritious article of diet.

The demonstration centres can keep a few colonies of honey bees and the work can be extended in other villages where bee pasturage is available. A preliminary survey of the area by an expert in bee-keeping will be necessary for this purpose. Once the centre is able to domesticate the bees, it can provide facilities for agriculturists to receive training and to obtain the necessary equipments at moderate rates.

6. Cotton and Wool

In areas where cotton can be grown adequate lands must be assigned for growing at least 127 lbs. of lint per head of the population and its spinning and weaving should be organised on the lines indicated by the programme of work followed by the All-India Spinners' Association.

Similarly, in sheep rearing areas production of woollen goods should be encouraged by aids to sheep-breeding, grading of wool, etc.

7. Leather Tanning

Export of raw hides and skins from India are amongst the largest in the world. If we can convert all this raw material into leather ourselves we shall be providing occupation to millions of Harijans. Time being the essence of tanning, much finance is needed. Hence the work must be done co-operatively. Societies should purchase the hides, etc., and pay piece-work wages on various processes and market the goods either as finished leather or as manufactured articles.

1. Leather is being tanned in all provinces, but all are not of equally good quality. Calcutta 'Chrome'¹ and Madras 'Gavi', which are considered to be of standard quality, are not attempted elsewhere. Other varieties are far inferior to these two. The reasons for this should be found out and the same standard of tanning should be introduced everywhere.
2. Export of raw hides and skins should be discouraged by Government levying a very heavy duty on their export.
3. A cart for carrying the carcasses should be supplied by Co-operative Societies at nominal cost to a group of *chamars*. At present, for want of such conveyance, the carcasses are dragged on the ground. It is estimated that this process reduces the value of the leather by about 50 per cent.
4. The circumstance under which the industry is now carried on are very unhygienic and demands a complete reorganization. This can be brought about if proper arrangements are made at a site a little away from the village dwelling places, for building sheds, pits, drainage, supply of water,

etc. and if the processes, which are unhygienic, be carried out by simple machinery. If this involves a transformation of the scattered *chamar* families into a central tannery for a tahsil or district, the change may be for the better. Such tanneries may be owned and managed by Co-operative Societies only of the *chamars*.

5. At present, there are a few selected places where leather manufactured goods are produced on a very big scale and distributed over the whole country. This system must be discouraged and local manufacture of practically all the leather goods, such as foot-wear, money purses, suitcases etc. should be encouraged, either the local manufacture may be subsidised or the imports taxed.

Subsidies should be given to individual contractors or Cooperative Societies for the preparation of manure from blood, flesh and bones from the carcasses.. The subsidy should be in proportion to the output of manure.

6. Glue, guts, brushes, and other byproducts can also be prepared by these societies. The horn industry can be profitably introduced among *chamar* families. It should be encouraged by subsidy for some time and by the purchase of the finished products by the government for its use. The necessary equipment should, of course, be supplied on hire.

8. Soap-Making

A survey of deposits of sajji matti should be carried out. And wherever such deposits of sajji matti are found, soap makers should be allowed to collect them without any tax or royalty being demanded of them. Incidentally, it may be observed that the removal of this deposit improves the quality of the land. Caustic lye prepared from Sajji matti and non-edible oils should be utilized for soap manufacture in villages.

9. Lighting

The non-edible oils as neem, karanji, candle nut, pardi, mahua, rayan, etc., which are very little used at present, should be utilized also for lighting

purposes. Every effort should be directed towards making the villages self-sufficient in lighting.

Vegetable oil lamps like, the 'Magandipa' devised by the A. I. V. I. A., can be distributed from the demonstration centres along with other equipments, and the local artisans should also be encouraged to produce them.

10. Paper Making

1. The provincial Government may start handmade paper industry in the jails where the required raw materials are available in the vicinity. For this purpose a survey of the local raw materials needed for paper making should be carried out by an expert.
2. All the chemicals required for paper making should be made available by Co-operative Societies to the handmade paper production centres at controlled rates.
3. One central workshop should be maintained, in common with other industries for making the required machinery such as beater, callender, moulds, screw press, envelopes making machine, etc.

Paper makers should be supplied with the latest type of equipments such as hollander beater, callender machine, screw, press, etc., either on hire or on the hire-purchase system through the Co-operative Societies. These societies may also supply pulp where such pulp calls for power-driven machinery for its making.

4. Such raw materials as office records, waste paper and grasses available in the government forests useful for paper making, which are auctioned at present to the highest bidder, should be reserved for hand-made paper producing centres and should be supplied to them through their co-operative societies at moderate rates. Similarly, the finished products prepared by the centres should be purchased by the Government for their stationery and office record purposes, through the Co-operative societies at such prices as will leave the paper makers in a position to maintain a reasonable standard of life.

5. Training: The required expert staff for hand-made paper producing centres can be trained at the Provincial Training Centres.
6. Priority should be obtained from the railways for the transport of hand-made paper and its equipments. Hand-made paper should be exempted from terminal and octroi duties.

11. Pottery

1. The first requisite of the pottery industry is the analysis of the available clay in the province. This should be undertaken by the Government.
2. Clay mixing is an art requiring considerable knowledge of chemistry. Hence it should be done in a central place like a Co-operative Society, or a jail, and the mixed clay should be distributed to individual potters. Alternatively, the existing potters should be taught the art of clay mixing if possible, by giving them a set of formulas for particular types of clay.
3. As in the case of other industries, the Co-operative Society can be the agency for the distribution of clay as well as the improved potters' wheel on hire.
4. The glazing and firing of particular types of pots will have to be done again co-operatively. Both the processes of clay mixing and firing and glazing should be done on a service basis co-operatively by the potters themselves. Pots, which do not require very high temperature firing, and which are ordinarily done at present in the villages by groups of potters, can be fired better by introducing improved furnaces in place of temporary ones. Properly constructed furnaces will reduce the consumption of fuel.

The big furnaces required for brick-tiles-firing should be co-operatively organized. The shape and strength of bricks and tiles should be improved.

5. Facilities should be provided for potters to receive short- term training in all processes, such as clay-mixing and improved modelling, firing and glazing, at some convenient place.

12. Sanitation and Manure

1. What forms should the latrines take in the villages should be found out after alternative methods have been tried out. It may be more than one type may be found suitable and necessary. Experiments must be made in regard to types of latrines, etc., to keep the villages in a sanitary condition. Bore-hole urinals should be installed in suitable places in the villages.
2. Subsidies should be given to individual contractors for converting human excreta and all the dirt of the village into compost manure. The subsidy being proportionate to the amount of manure produced should be such as to attract individuals to this job. Unless it is made a profitable business proposition, it is not likely to be attractive. The grant or subsidy, at least for some years, is essential to make it attractive.
3. The custom of housing cattle inside the village and often in the dwelling places themselves, requires attention from the point of view of village sanitation. Though this is a long-term problem, the sanitation of the village is difficult to maintain without proper provision for stables and mangers.

Wherever new extension of a town or village has to be made, the cattle housing should be provided for in a place a little away from the dwellings, sanitation of the village is one of the main considerations that weigh with some who advocate common dairies of the villages, instead of individually owned and kept cattle.

VI. DEMOCRACY

India was originally a republic of villages, and each village was a self-governing unit. It has developed certain ideas of state, based on the types of personalities commonly found in society.

All activities in human society present two points of view, the long range view and the short range view. Many of us are not capable of taking a long term view because it means working for years before the fruit of one's labours can be seen or obtained and men do not like to wait. We are all inclined to take a short term view, we want to eat, drink and be merry. Ninety-nine out of hundred people take this short term view. But these are certain matters which have got to be done for the benefit of the whole society and which call for a long range view. This is what a democracy arranges for. We require men with long range view to be at the head of Government if Government is to succeed and the well being of the majority is to be achieved. People who take a short range view are a danger to society, if they be at the head of Government. They will promote wars by their short sighted policy.

Judged from this view point, England and America are anything but democracies. Those countries are under absolute dictatorships. When these countries were faced with the grave danger of war, what the form of Government that prevailed, democracy or dictatorship? Bare faced dictatorship came into being in those countries. That was not merely a coincidence; it was bound to happen. These countries have been using centralised methods of production which means central control and regimentation, which ultimately leads to dictatorship. We cannot have dictatorship in economics and at the same time, democracy in politics. Such claims to democracy are merely smoke-screens. Democracy in economics must be based on decentralized production in villages on individual basis.

Of course, irrigation, roads and such large projects will have to be undertaken and for that purpose you must select from society people who have a long range view. Therefore all ministers and all government officials should be

persons with long range view. If they talk in terms of money, 'will it pay?', then they are not people of the right sort to hold the present responsible posts. In the long view 'will it pay?' will not be the criterion. 'Does it answer the purpose of the people¹' is the question that should be asked. Government is not a commercial institution; it is not an institution for making money or producing bureaucrats. Government is there to serve the people. If it serves the needs of the people it does not matter what such service costs. It has got to be rendered. That is the fundamental principles that we have got to remember. Here is a big difference between private economy and public finance in this that public finance takes a long range view. While planning for democracy, every citizen is to be made conscious of the part he has to play in the whole scheme.

The Personnel: One of the primary necessities for doing this is that there should be no 'self' in those in charge. If 'self' be there, they will exploit the labour of the millions. That is the danger, and Congress Ministries we want to cut down very many things. The last ministry went down to a salary of Rs. 500/- a month. Now their standards have increased, and accordingly the salaries have been increased. That means that 'self' has come in. There is danger here. We have to accept village standards. We are not to live in palaces. There are many palaces in cities, where wealthy people are living but the villages have no palaces.

I had an occasion to meet a missionary in a village about five or six miles from a town. He was living in a big palatial house, like the houses of some of our ministers, beautifully furnished. In that jungle of a place he had electricity, pumps for the well, flush out lavatories and so many other modern facilities. He had a farm of about three hundred acres of land.

About half a mile from the house he had built small mud huts for model families to establish themselves, with a poultry run and a little land attached to each hut to cultivate. The missionary said to me, "We are spending a lot of money here, but we feel that we are not very effective in the villages. We are unable to get at them. Can you give me a *mantra* for it?", I said, "The *mantra* is very simple. You set fire to this palatial house. That is the *mantra*. You are

coming from Western countries and you do not know the conditions that obtain in India. You always think in terms of money, and prestige it brings. The villagers respect us in this clothing. If we have two more patches in our clothes, they respect us all the more. If we do away with the shirt, they follow us, and if we have a *dhoti* high up as a loin cloth, they prostrate before us! That is the standard of values in our country. You missionaries, who come here, do not understand this position. Therefore, if you want to serve our people, you have to get rid of this big palace which is associated with exploitation. It creates suspicion and instils fear in the villagers. If you have built these mud huts for the villager at a cost of Rs. 250/- each you must build huts for yourself at a cost of Rs. 125/-, if you want to serve the villagers. If you do that they will come and listen to you as] they would realise you have no 'self in you. That is the secret of it. Ours is not a barbarian country. We have got a culture of values not based on money. We have got our 'Brahminical standards'. It is not the sacred thread that is the symbol of Brahminic culture. There may be I. C. S. officers earning thousands of rupees as¹ salary, with their sacred threads on but they are all *mlechhas*. We have got a standard of Brahminical values. That is the secret of the Mahatma's greatness. If Mahatma Gandhi goes to America, crowds will go to see him; but they will not go in the same spirit as the crowds gather in India. Our people have faith in Gandhiji because he is a man without property without any 'self in him. That is what will bring popular ministries real power. That is what will restore the confidence of the people. If you put this plan before them, they will readily take it. You do not require much money for it.

All that is required is to transform ourselves and get into this way of life. That alone will bring us *swaraj*, economic swaraj, In that swaraj everyone will have enough to eat.

First of all, in a poverty stricken land, everyone must have food and clothing. That is why we should approach the problem from an agricultural point of view. It is not a question of harnessing the patriotism of the people. It is a question

of harnessing every man. Ultimately we have to solve the problem of food and clothing to everyone.

World Reactions: That is the only way of ensuring peace in the world. We have a tremendous hold over China, not because we are manufacturers of atom bombs, but because there are ties between this country and China created by Lord Buddha. That is the sort of culture that we want. We want to be a world power. If so we must start with this cultural value, and we must plan from the villages upwards. That is the only way of solving not only our own problems but those of the whole world. Those at the helm of affairs should forsake their 'self', and forsake their all. They must then put this plan into action for the people. That is the real contribution they can make to our country.

Government Opposition: Democratic government based on representatives requires an opposition to direct its working. The water in a river is kept to its course by the banks. If the banks are of rock it is best. If not the banks get eroded and the river silts and shifts its course. Hence there can be no competition between the banks and the water for the bed of the river.

Similarly the director and the directed cannot be competitors. There should be co-operation and not competition.

As the waters of a river are kept in their course best by its rocky banks, so also the Government of a country has to be directed by forces which lie outside the official sector of the Gov- ; eminent. Great Britain prides itself on possessing the 'Mother of Parliament'. The method prevailing there is to maintain, at Government cost, 'His Majesty's Opposition' to keep the ministers within bounds by directing the flood light of public criticism, on the steps taken or proposed to be taken by the Government. British Parliament is a veritable arena where many a mortal combat between political knights take place. The discomfited knight yields place to the victor. The occupants of the opposition benches today may be the proud occupants of the Treasury Benches tomorrow according to the fortunes of Parliamentary Debate. This is the function of the opposition in the British Parliamentary System. It is an outcome of the competitive economy projected into the political sphere.

The composition of the cabinet itself reflects the structure of imperialism in the economic field. Centralised industries need to gather the raw materials from the four corners of the world and send back their finished products to markets in the uttermost parts of the globe. This necessitates wide-spread use of money and transport and control of political power. To achieve these Foreign Affairs, Finance and Army, Navy and Air Force become essentials. Hence these have secured coveted status in the British Cabinet.

Both competition and imperialism have their roots in violence.

Our country has taken up the reins of Government. If we desire to pursue non-violence, what shall be the form of our Government? Our Government also will need a corrective force to perform the functions of an Opposition'. But we want an economy based on co-operation and not one on competition. The 'Opposition members in our economy will not be looking forward to occupying the Treasury Benches one day, should the fortunes of debate go against those in the saddle at the time. Personal ambition can have no place in an economy of non-violence and co-operation. What we should aim at is not to replace the ministers, but to hold up models that they should follow. The constructive workers should direct them into proper channels by the beacon light of their example. This is a great responsibility that would devolve upon the constructive workers in a non-violent economy.

A well organised body of constructive workers will be needed to provide this directive force. Their service to the people will be their sanction and the merit of their work will be their charter. The ministers will draw their inspiration from such a body which will advise and guide the secular Government. To be able to discharge this function the constructive workers forming such a body will have to be drawn from men of renunciation, whose one aim and ambition is the service of the people.

In such a political make-up the cabinet will handle portfolios that will be essential to an economy of self-sufficiency. The major portfolios will be Agriculture, Land, Development-Antierosion, reclamation, fertilisation, Irrigation, River Controls, Forests, Village and Cottage Industries, Minerals and

Heavy Industries, Health, Education and Home Affairs. It is not imperative in such a set-up to give Foreign Affairs, Finance and Defence cabinet rank, however important these departments may be.

In a political structure of this nature the body of constructive workers will form the bulwark of safety for the people against exploitation. A Government run on this basis will give the needed emphasis to the affairs of the people and ensure their welfare bringing in Swaraj to the masses.

'Nationalisation' presupposes that real power rests with the people, i. e., with the masses. There should be in the first place, a wide foundation of experience in the management of our affairs. This has to be obtained by the villagers looking after their common needs through well organized panchayats. From such experienced men the districts will draw their administrators and these will also supply the requirements of the province in regard to public men and legislation. Such well-based and properly conducted provincial administration will be able to keep under control the Central Government and make it function in the interests of the villagers.

When the Government of the land is in the hands of the millions as their first care, then alone can we claim to have a National Government and 'Nationalisation' will then ensure that the interests of the masses will be taken care of.

In the absence of such a village based and controlled by Central Government, 'Nationalisation' may lead to the greater exploitation of the 'have nots' by the 'haves'.

For instance, there has been a lot of talk recently about 'Nationalising' the Airways. These airways, at present, are not within the reach of the villagers. They do not need them nor are they likely to use them. As it is, at the present time, the 'haves' own them and use them. So Government control now will mean the Government will spend its money and though in making 'the Airways' easily available to the 'haves' while other 'haves' will provide the service. Aerodromes may have to be constructed and various roads, etc., provided. For this these private bodies would like to exploit the Government to exploit the

Government resources and obtain their assistance under the plea of Government control or 'Nationalisation'. The funds available to the Government should be earmarked for the provision of facilities for the masses and hence we cannot divert them for the betterment of airways. Let private enterprises go on as they have done. Some 'haves' will exploit other 'haves' and later on when village based National Government comes into existence we shall have time enough to consider 'Nationalisation' of such services.

VII. NATIONAL INDUSTRIES

We come to the question of organisation and method to be followed by industries. We have to bear in mind two main principles in economics. These are, concentration of wealth and distribution of wealth.

Centralised industries generally act like centrifugal machines. These concentrate wealth in a few hands. Concentration may be either of wealth or of power. The decentralised industries have the natural tendency of distributing wealth. Therefore, if we do not want, in our society, concentration of wealth, then we must take out the centralised industries. Since what we want is distribution of wealth especially in a poor country like India, we must decentralise the industries.

There is another way of doing it. Russia has done it. They say that they will produce wealth in a concentrated form and then distribute it through government. The danger there lies in the concentration of power, and not in the concentration of wealth, as in our country. When wealth has been produced the people who have to redistribute it have the power in their hands. Therefore it is concentration of power or concentration of wealth, both are evils. In Russia there is concentration of power, as against concentration of wealth in America and England. India is a poor country where we have got to produce wealth, and in the process of production of wealth we have to distribute it. So, where we want to produce consumption goods, we should put centralised method of production out of court completely.

Place of Centralised Industries: There should be centralised industries only where they can be in the hands of people who will not have any profit motives or who will not concentrate the wealth. We shall have to sterilise the centralised industries of their power of concentrating wealth. How shall we do that? It must be on a service basis. Electricity, transport, communications, post and telegraphs, roads all these must be on a service basis and must be run by government composed of selfless workers. If we want motor cars or aeroplanes, they must be produced by government. It may be said that such industries, as

are run by government, are very often wasteful. We must condone a certain amount of waste. Concentration of wealth is much more wasteful. All these wars are the result of concentration of wealth and power consequent on centralisation of industries. Look at the huge amount of wealth that has been wasted during the last few years.

If we must have centralised industry, we can have it only where we cannot help it. It is just like a poison. Even poison is sometimes good. For example, you take quinine. It is a good thing when you take in limited quantities and as prescribed by a doctor. You put a red label to the effect that it is a poison, and you take it in small doses. If you want to have a centralised industry that is a poison for the nation you may have it with a red label, and take it in small doses as prescribed by the doctor! Otherwise there is danger. Centralised industries are in their very nature anti-social. Therefore, we have got to limit their sphere. How do we limit it? Limit it to cases where society requires their function and the industry itself is of the nature of a monopoly. Take for example, water-supply. We should let government arrange for water-supply. We have to allocate to government things which require a long-range view.

Costs and Profits: There are people who talk in terms of cost. They say centralised industries are good because things can be produced cheap. It is not always so. Centralised industries can be used with advantage in the case of public utility concerns, such as Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Electricity supply, Irrigation, which are by nature monopolistic; there must not be any profit motive, but they should be run on a service basis. When the State undertakes these enterprises the profit motive is eliminated, which an individual has uppermost in his mind.

Private individuals are actuated by profit motive. Higher the cost, lower the profit, and lower the cost, higher the profit. This means we cut down cost in centralised industry. The easiest way to do so is to cut down wages, purchase raw materials at a cheaper price and effect other economic savings in overhead charges. Profit is the main motive power. When we are cutting down wages and the raw materials are purchased cheap, then we make one man who organises

the industry rich and the other people poor. Thus unequal distribution of wealth sets in.

This is not so with village industries. There is no question of profit although prices may be higher. There is a fair return for everybody. This is why we need not worry even though prices under village industries are high and prices under centralised industries are low. All we want to do is to prevent unequal distribution of wealth.

Price Control: It is wrong to treat the large-scale and small-scale industries in the same way in regard to price control. We must understand the nature of the industry before we begin to place controls. Controls are not desirable in every sphere. Where an industry is anti-social it should not be a centralised industry. Thus, the element of being anti-social determines whether the industry should or should not be a large-scale industry.

As observed earlier, industries are good where there are natural monopolies and where much capital is required. For instance coal mines, railways and ventures of that type require large capital, big labour force-every thing on a vast scale and such industries should not be left to private individuals but should be managed by the State.

Democracy in industries: Textile-mills are antidemocratic because there are thousands of people working under a boss who is an autocrat within his little sphere-the Mill. His word is law, he is the Czar whose word must be obeyed. There should not be a place in democracy for such anti-social elements. Democracy must be pure everywhere. From this political aspect also centralised industries are an evil.

We want a society based on co-operation. Competition means ungle law. We do not want it in our country. Our aim is to bring co-operation, ban competition and we cannot ban competition merely by saying that we shall regulate prices.

Just as a doctor prescribes poison in small doses to cure his patients after careful examination, so also we have got to carefully examine each industry and see whether centralisation is good or bad.

When we reject centralisation we do not object to the use of machinery. What we desire is that man should not become the slave of the machine. When man loses control over the machine, we have violence manifesting itself.

Violence and Peace : In text-books on Economics we read so much about the laws of supply and demand, but in the actual world we do not find anything like that especially in a competitive regime. A machine must be worked to its economic productive capacity. To take a concrete example, suppose there is a shoe- making factory. There is a demand for 300 pairs of shoes but the economic productivity of the factory is 500 pairs of shoes. This means that the cost of production to be the lowest, 500 pairs of shoes must be produced whether there is a demand for them or not. Because the factory owner is concerned with profits, he will not care for anything else but to see that the cost of production is the lowest per pair of shoes. He will ignore the demand side and produce 500 pairs because the cost of production would be reduced to the minimum and then he will try to find a market outside. Thus man is governed by the speed of the machine and not by the demand. Wars are thus started for capturing markets, creating customers for the surplus products. Production takes place first and demand is then created at the point of the bayonet. It is, therefore, evident that centralised industry is the root cause of wars. It is necessary, therefore, to put a rational limit on the use of centralised industries.

In certain industries like tanning there are some processes which require large-scale methods to be employed. In such cases by all means we may use them, but not under private management. If chrome tanning is necessary it must be done under multipurpose co-operative societies on the basis of supplying leather at cost price to the shoemaker.

In the same way there may be so many functions which can be undertaken on individualistic or small-scale basis. For instance, kiln with 16,000 heat cannot be had without much capital and electric power-a centralised process. We may use electric power and all other methods functionally, but not for profit. Let it not be a handle to exploit society.

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VIII. GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS

As has been observed all activities in human society present two view-points- the long range view and the short range view. 'The individual is generally obsessed with the immediate benefit he gets. He is not much interested in a programme of work what will bear fruit after his time. He would be prepared to be satisfied with lower return in the near future than to work for an end that will fructify much later. Therefore it becomes necessary, in the interests of the whole social group, to detail out certain individuals to attend to the dictates of the long range interests. This is the function of a National Government.

Again, certain necessary functions cannot be performed within the limits of the resources available to the common citizen. Such functions also fall to the government whose resources of men and material are immense. Research, experimentation and dissemination of information are such functions which an individual farmer or artisan cannot undertake.

All the zeal, talent and resources of the State and the public that have up to the present been directed towards pushing ahead factory products, should now be rechannelled into a drive for village sufficiency based on village industries. With determined effort all the handicaps from which villagers suffer at present should be removed as possible.

Irrigation : The need for providing irrigation facilities to all the villages cannot be emphasised too greatly. This is the foundation upon which agriculture depends for its progress, in the absence of which farming becomes a pure gamble. A drive for sinking wells, enlarging and dredging tanks, building canals, has to be launched. The power engines used in rice and flour mills now can be acquired by the governments to pump up water from tube wells. No proper manuring can be done without water facilities as manure in the absence of water is harmful.

Land Management: We have to increase the extent and quality of soil under cultivation. The quality of the soil should be maintained by checking erosion

and water-logging by means of proper drainage, embankments, contour bunding etc. In the final analysis the soil is the fountain head from which springs all nourishment for men and cattle in the form of corn and fodder. If the quality of the soil is reduced the food produced upon it will be of poor quality and consequently the health of the people will suffer. This is why nutrition experts connect up health with agriculture.

In Bihar and other places former food crops like rice have been made to yield place to commercial crops-sugarcane, tobacco and long staple cotton-by using the price mechanism. Similarly, in Malabar large tracts of rich lands have been converted into coconut groves. These coconuts are sold to oil-mills and the oil is used in preparing soap. The old occupants of rice fields no longer get their own rice hand-pounded but depend on polished rice from Brazil and suffer from malnutrition consequently. It is the duty of the Government to see that proper use is made of the land to produce primary necessities first. If there be any surplus land available after providing food and clothing, such lands may be used for commercial purposes. The above cited instances show criminal dereliction of duty of Government in that in effect rice lands have been converted into soap lands while people are facing starvation.

The use of lands should be subject to a license which will be given after considering the products to be raised according to a well-laid-out plan.

Research: All research in agriculture should be directed towards improving food crops as well as raw materials for village industries rather than encourage the growth of money crops, like tobacco, and raw materials for factories like thick rind sugarcane and long staple cotton.

Freights and Priorities: At present priority and discriminative freight rates are granted to factory materials. Village industries articles such as hand-made paper, equipment for village industries, vegetable oil lamps, etc., are not given a look in on the railways. This causes bottle-necks in the industries concerned. This policy of the railways had played no small part in checking the progress and spread of village industries, which promised to flourish under the conditions prevailing during the war. As in all other matters, the policy in this

too should be changed in favour of village producers. Railway priority for the transport of goods and equipment of village industries should be granted. Village-made articles must be exempted from impositions such as terminal taxes, municipal duties, etc.

Cattle-breeding: The government should undertake cattle- breeding farms on much wider scale. In every province where there are special breeds suited to the place, these should be preserved and improved. Where necessary the maintenance of stud bulls may be subsidised. Generally the work may be done on lines followed by the Go-seva Sangh, Wardha, Central Provinces.

Communications, Roads etc.: All roads meant for motor traffic in villages should be tarred and the cost must be borne by the motor owners. The licence and taxes on motor vehicles and on petrol should be so regulated as to make motor owners bear the entire cost to Government for the construction and the maintenance of such roads. Motor vehicles should not be allowed, except with special permit, on untarred roads and then only with a speed limit of 5 miles per hour.

The government will have to radically revise their policy of maintaining forests. Forest management should be guided, not by considerations of revenue but by the needs of the people. Forest produces such as timber, lac etc., should be supplied in useable form. The wood should be seasoned in the forests. Forest planning must be based on the requirements of the villagers around. Forest should be divided into two main classes: (1) Those supplying timber to be planned from the long range point of view, and (2) Those supplying fuel and grasses, to be made available to the public either free of cost or at nominal rates. There are village industries such as palm gur, paper making, pottery, etc., which can flourish only if fuel or grass be supplied to them at cheap rates.

Training Centres: There should be Training Centres, preferably on linguistic basis, to carry on the following functions:

(1) To carry on research in conjunction with the district demonstration centres in the technique and process of village industries of the province. (2) To prepare literature on village industries in the local languages. (3) To hold

village industries exhibitions. (4) To run a workshop for the supply of such tools and implements as bullock-driven flour *chakkis*, paddy separators, sugar centrifugal machines, beater, digester, calender, screw press, etc., which cannot be manufactured in the district centres. (5) To train Gram Sevaks' staff for the district demonstration centres as well as for co-operative societies.

IX. EDUCATION FOR LIFE

In the last analysis we are led to the conclusion that all problems radiate from education. We can solve our difficulties only by educating the people to view life from a common standpoint. Education is a master key that gives admission into all departments that make up life.

Meaning of Education: If education is to fit us for life- to make us better citizens, better husbands and better fathers-it has to be a continuous process from the cradle to the grave. Through all the changing scenes of life we ought to be able to pass with the least shock. If, on the other hand, education taught us only certain tricks which we could perform we should be completely at sea when a different set of circumstances confronted us. Education need not cramp our minds with facts and figures but it should give us an attitude towards life.

An educational system has to have a philosophy behind it and its purpose should be to elicit the best in an individual. Therefore, the undertaking of education is a grave responsibility fraught with many dangers and we cannot launch out lightly upon any scheme without proper preparation and thought.

Unfortunately the system of spreading the art of reading and writing has been often identified with education. Nothing can be more grotesque. Reading and writing are means of acquiring culture but they are not the only means nor are they the most important means.

Education with a Purpose: In most countries, at present, education has a definite purpose or goal. In capitalistic countries, the captains of industry look upon it as a nursery for their future executives and administrators. In socialist countries, they harness-it to increase material production. In militaristic nations, education means a creation of a narrow patriotism.

The Oriental Method: In our own country, the system of education followed in the past was a training ground for life. A student chose his master and lived his everyday life under his master's watchful eye and imbibed the spirit of his *guru*. This was the case, not merely with spiritual training, but, in every walk of life.

The *guru* himself did not look upon teaching as a profession any more than a father looks upon his parental duties as a profession. The *guru* led his own life from which emanated his outlook on life and his disciple gleaned what he could from his practice. Jesus, when he chose his disciples said "follow me" and he did not give them a list of text books to read. They had to follow in their master's footsteps. That is our system of education.

True Economic Value: The close contact of Western commerce has enshrined gold amongst us. Our cultural values have yielded place to money values. We have begun to think in terms of gold and not in terms of humanity. The brahmanical cultural standards have gone and the Baniya civilization of the West has crept in. The Brahmin was valued and respected not because of his possession but because of the service he was to render to society without regard to the return he gets. No educational system which does not place first things first is worthy of our attention. Any attempt to educate the masses must include inculcation of true standards of financial, social and economic value above all things.

Varied aspects of life: Man is a complex being; we cannot divide him up into water-tight compartments and develop him in stages. Education, which attends only to the intellectual development leaving aside the physical, moral and spiritual aspects, is directed towards the production of monstrosities. If our aim is a true education we have to attend to all faculties at one and the same time. We have to develop a person physically, socially, mentally and spiritually. He has to learn an occupation, he has to learn how to live as a member of community, he has to know how to evaluate man and matters. Unless all these are attempted we can have no education worth the name.

There is not a single action of ours that does not leave its indelible mark on us. Our work, our play, our pastime and our rest all have to be consciously planned out if the reactions have to be healthy socially. Training for work takes care of the major part of a worker's life. We spend most of our time in our economic activity. If it is so arranged that it develops our faculties and enriches our life in the process of producing goods, to that extent the nation will be the better

for it. Proper work will not wear out a nation but build it. The function of work should be to reduce to practice our ideal of life. Pure religion, which begins and ends with ceremonial worship, is superficial. If religion does not affect every act of ours, every moment of our life, it is futile. We have seen by our analysis of work, in the chapter on Work, the highly important role that work plays in developing the individual and the race. If work can be so potent a force in developing the adult we can well harness it to develop the child.

We have to concentrate our efforts on the villages. University education can go overboard for a time without damaging the nation. As it is we are top-heavy, we have many more graduates than we need. These have also created a problem of unemployment as they are not products of the type of education we need. Otherwise, there would be no difficulty in absorbing them. Our end must be to make our villagers more useful and efficient. It is not necessary to load them with much outside information. Radio and talkies though they may be helpful, cannot be the main source of rural education. The amount spent on them is disproportionately high. The work must be an evolution from within the village and not an imposition from outside the community. Anything from outside will require to be propped up by artificial means, but that which comes from within will develop true culture which will bind man to man, village to village and ultimately the country itself as one whole.

We need not place too much emphasis on the organization to be brought into existence. When we pin our faith on organization, however important they may be in themselves, we often lose sight of the personal influence, and the organization tends to become expensive and wooden. Centralization of education, as in other spheres, leads to too much control from those at a distance. Centralization of education will lead to hide-bound methods and standardization which are fatal to true education. It is much better for the village teacher to work under the eyes of his neighbours. Therefore, it would seem better if each village can be made to finance its own education by the old method of endowing lands to a *Mandir* dedicated to education. If such a system can have the advantage of inspection and advice from the centre, It ought to

answer our purpose well, as the management itself will be amenable to local public opinion. As it is, the teacher has to satisfy the inspector once a year or so and, after such inspection is over, he relaxes. This does not make for progress, much less for steady work. Every village school should be the centre of culture and the point of contact with the outside world. The only danger in this conception is that the teacher may get into the habit of looking upon his part in the village as one of promoting social spirit and may neglect his main duty to the younger generation. This social aspect is only a by-product, it is not the end of a school. Let us place our faith in human nature and in ourselves and go ahead keeping our load-star in sight. We may differ in details, but we shall teach our goal of developing true culture, reliable standards of value and attain unity in spite of our apparent diversity.

The suggested Scheme: Of late there has been a good deal of discussion as to the line which true education should take. Gandhiji suggests education should be made self-supporting. He writes "By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man-body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education. I would therefore, begin with the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training. Thus every school can be made self-supporting, the condition being that the State takes over the manufactures of these schools.

"I hold that the highest development of the mind and the soul is possible under such a system of education. Only every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically, as is done today, but scientifically, i, e., the child should know the why and the wherefore of every process. I am not writing this without some confidence, because it has the backing of experience. This method is being adopted more or less completely wherever spinning is being taught to workers. I have myself taught sandal- making and even spinning on these lines with good results. This method does not exclude a knowledge of history and geography.

But I find that this is best taught by transmitting such general information by word of mouth, one imparts ten times as much in this manner as by reading and writing. The signs of the alphabet may be taught later when he has somewhat developed his or her tastes. This is a revolutionary proposal but it saves immense labour and enables a student to acquire in one year what he may take longer to learn. This means all-round economy. Of course the pupil learns mathematics whilst he is learning his handicraft.

"I attach the greatest importance to primary education which according to my conception should be equal to the present matriculation less English. If all the collegians were all of a sudden to forget their knowledge, the loss sustained by the sudden lapse of the memory of say a few lacs of collegians would be as nothing compared to the loss that the nation has sustained and is sustaining through the ocean of darkness that surrounds three hundred millions. The measure of illiteracy is no adequate measure of the prevailing ignorance among the millions of villagers".

The education of children in the early stages can never be self-supporting. The articles they may produce will not command any exchange value. If the State is to take them over that will only be another way of meeting the loss and we shall be deceiving ourselves that education is self-supporting. What Gandhiji means by self-supporting is not that each year of the child must be paid for by the products that the child makes in that year. This is too narrow a financial view point and it can never be true. What is meant is a much wider value, not in terms of money only but in terms of future services rendered by the child as a well-trained citizen. At present, frequently the drilling in the three R's that a child gets in a village is so feeble that after a few years it lapses into illiteracy again and the time and money spent on the child become a sheer waste in course of time. But if it had been properly spent, the production of the class, though it may not pay for itself each year, in the course of the seven year's schooling, the aggregate production of the class, ought to cover amount spent on the salary of the teacher. In the first two years there will be losses, in the next three years it may just balance and the last years, if the child had been

properly trained, ought to show a profit sufficient to cover the losses of the first two years. Apart from this, as has already been pointed out, the training of a good citizen more than compensates any capital expense incurred by the State. When the child is taught crafts which are in local demand such as spinning, dyeing, weaving, tailoring, mat and basket- making pottery, shoe-making, carpentry, smithy, brass and metal working, paper-making, gur production, oil-pressing, bee-keeping, etc., the problem of marketing will not be great. Even the apprentice of an artisan does not pay for himself from the very start. His training is bound to result in a loss for something. After the initial stages, he may produce something worthwhile. Thence onwards he may pay his training through. To meet such early training the Government has to find the funds or the people will have to set aside certain assets like lands earmarked for the purpose. This was done formerly until the British system of taxation dis-established the village schools. But education of the young must remain a duty of the State. As we are situated at present, our problem is a politically created financial problem and is not natural. The solution lies in correcting it politically and not accepting it as inevitable. The teacher should himself be a well- trained person who may have to be paid adequately say Rs. 25/- as a start. The school hours and terms should be related to the village calendar. There may be no classes during harvest seasons or during periods when a great deal of work has to be done on the fields.

General outline of the Plan: The Wardha or Basic scheme, as this new plan has come to be known, recommends a course of seven years' compulsory basic education for boys and girls from the age seven to fourteen. The medium of instruction is to be a craft like spinning, around which all subjects are taught. The everyday life of the child and the correlation of the craft, the physical and social environment of the child afford points of coordination for all departments of knowledge. The standard aimed at is the present matriculation without English. There will be no effort to teach writing until the child has learnt drawing. Reading will be taught first. After the age of twelve, the pupil may be allowed to choose a craft as a vocation. It does not aim at turning out

expert workmen at the age of fourteen but, the pupil will have acquired sufficient training to enter a vocation in which he will do his talents justice.

The central idea of this scheme is that intellectual development must be attained through vocational training. The present system emphasizes general education and bases vocational training on it. Therefore, when intellectual training come first, we, in a way, tie the hands and feet of the child and he becomes impractical. No amount of the latter training will ever restore his limbs paralysed in childhood. Instruction, without experience to base it on, becomes a pure memory training exercise. It does not develop any initiative or personality.

Examination: The brunt of examinations will be borne by the teaching staff not by the pupils under this scheme. As the pupil's life is to be controlled by the teacher for 24 hours of the day, the teacher becomes knit together with the home of every child and so with the village. The work of the teacher will be reflected in the condition of the homes and of the village.

Women's Part: We have to follow the natural physical development of the child and follow it mentally, morally and spiritually. The child takes interest in form, colour and movement and then tries to understand the reason why things are what they are. Then he will experiment to see if he cannot make things what he wants them to be. Thus he advances from play to investigation and then to creation. Our educational system has to cater for these three stages of growth if we plan on eliciting the best in each child. To do this, the teacher ought to be fully qualified to enter into the spirit of the child and share it with him. By temperament and natural endowment, women, generally speaking, are better able to understand children of the first stage. The system in India suffers in no small measure by the lack of education among women. The mothers are not qualified to train the child nor can we get properly educated young women to enter the schools as teachers. It seems to me if we are to reform the schools, the first step is the education of girls and young women, who are the natural custodians of the generations to come. Unless we begin there, any amount of planning and scheming by mere man will be in vain as he only comes in after

the impressionable age of the child has been lost. Every village school, handling children under eight, must be in the hands of women. One can almost say that with rare exception no man teacher should be employed in such schools.

In the second stage of development of the child, we need persons who will stimulate the thinking of the pupils and explain the why and wherefore of phenomena. I had the opportunity of visiting a school in New York State run by the Federation of Labour Unions. In that school the whole community lived together and the children took part in the supply of food products and all other domestic matters. They had their own dairy; one of the teachers was in charge and a few boys helped him. I attended an "economic class" of pupils of about eleven years of age. The subject for the day was "Buying of a cow". The class was taken charge of by a boy of about ten; the teacher sat in a back row with me. The lad in charge (we shall call him Henry) described to the class what his experience was when he went with the teacher (Bill) in charge of the Dairy to an adjoining market to buy a cow. This is how the class went on: "Bill and I went to an auction to buy a cow because we do not get enough milk from our cows for us all". One of the pupils asked what an "Auction" was. The other explained "An auction is a shop where they had no fixed prices. The shopman brought out an article and the persons who wanted it told him what they would pay for it and the shopman gave it to the one who 'bid'¹ highest". Then followed an explanation what a 'bid'¹ was. Then another pupil asked why different persons 'bid' different prices. Henry replied "the cow they bought started at 75 dollars and was 'knocked down'¹ at 120 dollars for Bill". After the explanation of "knocked down" he said that the first man suggested paying 75 dollars and others went on increasing the price till Bill bid 120 dollars. After that nobody came forward with a higher price, so it was sold to Bill. Another pupil asked "why nobody wanted to give more than 120 dollars?" Henry described how before the auction all the prospective buyers had gone through the records of the cow and found how much milk per year it gave, what food it ate during the year and other costs and found out what amount spent on its price would be just covered by the price of milk. So the highest limit was calculated and those who wanted an animal would stop bidding when it reached this limit. The whole

hour spent by those children in thinking these things out for themselves stimulated their faculties to greater extent than the cramming of economic theories from Adam Smith to Marshall. When theories are based on experience, it leads gently on to the next stage of creation and originality.

The present system is not capable of producing original thinkers. Even Graduates of our universities have not reached this third stage. It is because of this defect that we are stagnating. As we have already seen, the instruction we were given was designed to make clerks of us and original mind is no part of the equipment of a clerk. This stage requires some initiative and a good deal of self-confidence. The part the teachers should play is to stand by, watch and suggest.

No vocational training or education can be complete unless it has some relation to art. This part of our education has been attended to by Poet Tagore. The emphasis placed on folk songs, music and art must form part of every village school. If such schools can be found to function with a vocation of craft as the base and art as an aid, however simple the courses may be, the result will be an outturn of men and women with a backbone of character and self-respect who will not purr round the feet of foreign masters for a silken couch to lie on but who will hold their head erect, be independent, and be prepared to share the lowly life of the general run of the people. Unless we bend all our might to produce such a stalwart nation, broad based on the sound culture of the masses, it will be futile to attempt to build a superstructure. No nation can ever hope to take its place in the vanguard of the nations which has not got its roots in its own culture. We cannot shine on borrowed feathers. We have to develop our own contribution to the world of literature, art and music.

Of course, as Gandhiji suggested, college education must be made self-supporting. An agricultural college which cannot maintain itself on the land allotted to it belies the object for which it exists. Similarly, all other professional and technical colleges should be made to pay for themselves.

X. LIFE IN GREGATION

Up to now we have discussed mainly life of an individual in connection with his daily economic life. In this chapter we shall deal with man as a member of a society leading a common life. We have been envisaging human life as part of nature. Thus each man's life is but a passing phase in the existence of the universe. In this setting our daily life also has to be reviewed.

The individual life of man may be a short range one if we look at his life as an end in itself, but when it dovetails in the lives of others there are certain limitations which arise. Man cannot act as he pleases. His movements have to be restricted in consideration of the well being of others. Therefore the personal habits of each individual, health and abode have a bearing on the conditions prevailing in the environment.

With this end in view we shall have to lay out general lines on which people should live in groups. In India many of our human abodes are clusters of houses, hamlets and huts which form our villages. The village life, therefore, has to be studied from this aspect of common welfare.

To take one instance eats to replace the wastage in his body, to supply energy and to provide vitality to protect him against diseases, etc. Out of the food the body takes what it requires and returns to nature what is not assimilated. The rejected element has to be so returned to nature as to enable nature to assimilate it to itself and at the same time in such a manner as not to injure other fellowmen. Thus there are two aspects to every one of these questions and these will be touched upon in the following paragraphs.

In this chapter therefore, we shall be rapidly glancing over the various points that should be attended to in regard to Sanitation, Health and Housing. And then we shall pass on to consider the inter-relationship of man in villages which should facilitate the formation of organized unit working smoothly on the socio-political axis apart from the economic aspect that we have already considered. These village units will form the basis of the self-governing nation. These will

be the training grounds in which the villages will be prepared to take up the responsibilities in regard to public administration and self-government. Hence it is important that we should lay great emphasis on these village organizations.

When the village organization is properly formed it should develop a peculiar culture of its own which will be a distinguishing feature of group, just as the personality is of the individual. These aspects of village life should bring us nearer to permanence. Human lives cover at best three score years and ten, but these units based on village culture endure for all time. The quality of the culture we develop will depend not only on human nature but also on the point of approach we have adopted all along in this volume. We have been approaching the problems as an application of the principles of non-violence and truth to our everyday lives. If this is done carefully and attended to in every detail conscientiously we shall realise a society based on these principles.

Sanitation: *Personal habits of cleanliness*-Villagers had generally a fairly high sense of personal cleanliness derived through tradition and habit. Unfortunately some of these good habits are being given up under a false sense of modernity. Therefore the value of all good old personal habits of cleanliness should be re-emphasised and where necessary new good habits included.

Collective or group cleanliness-This is the weakest link in our village life. Village paths, roads, public places and tank bunds have all become so many public latrines. Villagers answer calls of nature anywhere indiscriminately, polluting most of the places on which people walk about and defiling even the available drinking water. But the fault is not the villagers¹ wholly. There are no organized latrines or urinals in a village and houses are so crowded and small that each house has no such facilities. Therefore the construction and proper maintaining of latrines, urinals and bathing places on common basis becomes very necessary as also a plan to convert all rubbish and night-soil, etc., into manure. Such a programme is necessary from the point of view of sanitation and of village economy. The following details of group cleanliness are indicated

- (a) Suitable and cheap drains, even if only open ones, and their periodical claning and disinfecting with indigenous materials.

- (b) Use of drainage water for kitchen gardens and fruit trees and flushing latrines.
- (c) Collection of all rubbish and its conversion into manure.
- (d) Keeping village wells, paths, tanks and open places clean and uncontaminated.
- (e) The making and maintaining of small gardens for the village public, children's playground and clean little open spaces.

Health : 1. *Village dietetics*-Mal-nutrition is rampant in the villages. Villages must be taught the nutritive values of different articles of food which are or can be produced in the villages. Every family should understand the meaning of a balanced diet and how to get it under village conditions.

The Health Department should take up educative work in this line in all the centres seriously. The Government should prohibit rice mills within the centres to begin with.

2. *Drinking water*-Supply of clean drinking water is a fundamental need. Many more wells are required in the villages. Old ones need to be repaired. In some cases clean and protected tanks will have to be made sources of drinking water. This is one of the items which should secure immediate priority.

3. *Preventive measures*-Preventive measures against disease should be emphasised more than curative measures. This means emphasis on balanced diet, personal and collective sanitation and general healthy living with provision for recreations and exercises.

4. *Ordinary ailments and cheap remedies*-Common village ailments and their prevention and cure should be taught. Natural methods and cheap remedies with suitable village herbs and drugs should be emphasised. Every family should be supplied with and taught the use of cheap disinfectants. The Health Department should investigate the value of poisonous herbs, weeds, etc., in this connection.

5. *Recreations and exercises*-Provision of space and equipment for open air recreations and exercises should be made in every village. Exercises like Suryanamaskar, asanas, and collective village games should be encouraged and organized.

Housing: Better and healthier houses are an important item. Village houses are insanitary, overcrowded and built without any common plan. This has to be altered under a well-conceived plan which will be drawn up by the village panchayat in consultation with public health and public works authorities available near at hand. The following points need emphasis:-

1. Relieving congestion of village houses by providing extension sites for buildings under a plan.
2. Future house building to be on a co-operative basis.
3. Improvement of existing houses through educative propaganda.
4. Provision of some kind of drainage for individual houses and for the streets. The first is obtained by digging and maintaining soak pits which will be periodically cleaned and changed. The second is done through simple and cheap drainage system, even if open, which will be periodically cleaned and disinfected. Normally drainage water should be used for vegetable gardens and fruit trees.
5. Village houses being small and overcrowded, common latrines, bathing and washing places should be provided.
6. Immediate levelling up of all stagnant water pools and pits which become sources of malarial infection.
7. Laying out and improvement of village paths and roads on planned basis.
8. Model houses suited to village conditions should be made and exhibited by Public Health and Public Works Departments.
9. In select places where old village cannot be improved in sanitation and health conditions, an attempt should be made in transplanting the village

progressively to a new site nearby with free gift of land and small building subsidies on a co-operative basis.

10. In all new enterprises and schemes of house building care should be taken to do away with the present segregation of the Harijan living quarters from the rest of village.

Village Organization: Village organization can be undertaken under three institutions- (1) A village panchayat for village administration on the basis of Village Self-Government, (2) Multipurpose Co-operative Society for the economic organization of the village and (3) a Gram Seva Sangha to mobilise non- official support and initiative to back up the work of the whole scheme of Rural Development on the basis of voluntary effort.

1. *The village panchayat*- There will have to be a village panchayat for each village or a group of villages elected on adult franchise, the villages being divided into wards for convenient sections for the purpose.

The panchayat will have direct responsibility in regard to all village services, such as, village roads, village water supply, village education, village dispensaries, village sanitation, administration of justice within certain limits, village, lighting etc. These services will have to be compulsorily provided for in every village. If the revenue raised and allotted is not sufficient to provide for those services the deficit should be borne by Government.

There will be another set of services like libraries, village halls, exhibitions, etc., which should be paid for partly by local contributions and partly by Government.

There should be a panchayat union for all the panchayats in the selected areas. The duty of such a union will be to link up the various essential services under the village panchayats. The union will thus guide, supervise and co-ordinate the activities of village panchayats and audit their accounts. The union will further undertake basic or post-basic education and maintain bigger hospitals and maternity homes. An Assistant Engineer attached to the union will prepare estimates and execute all work.

The union of panchayats will consist of representatives from the various panchayats in the centre. It will get contributions from the panchayats and grants from the Government.

N. B.-The village panchayats should be something more than mere administrative agencies. They should help in training villagers generally in civic responsibility, giving every adult knowledge of the rights and duties of village citizenship. They should also take up the tasks of social reforms like the abolition of common vices such as gambling, etc., abolition of superstitions and social evils, like untouchability, etc.

Special organized efforts will have to be made for the uplift and assimilation in the body politic of sections of societies like Harijans and Adiwasis who have been victims of social injustice. The unfortunate condition of women is a more serious problem which cannot be tackled singly by an institution or a department. It is a matter of awakening social conscience and overcoming old prejudices. Special attention will have to be paid in this direction. A few women workers having practical approach and some knowledge of home science (cooking medicines, weaving, tailoring, etc.) may prove useful for this work.

2. *Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies:-* Just as the panchayat is the instrument of political and administrative organization, the Multi-purpose Co-operative Society is the instrument for the economic organization of the village. The Multi-purpose Co-operative Society will deal with the following items:-

1. The obtaining and storage of the food produce of the village.
2. The processing of food articles.
3. The balanced distribution of local products and of such imports as are necessary.
4. The stocking and supply of the instruments for agricultural operations, village industries, etc.

5. The stocking and supply of raw materials like cotton, wood, metal, etc., for local industries.
 6. The marketing of finished products.
 7. Arranging for the exchange of surplus village produce for necessary materials and goods from outside.
 8. The organization of important village industries as interrelated co-operative units, so that, as far as possible profits and benefits are equitably shared by the village community as a whole. Care should also be taken to see that the people as a whole are gainfully employed so that the available (human resources) is fully utilized. The object is that there should be no unemployment or under-employment.
 9. Up-to-date technicians and those with artistic training should be made available to village artisans to help and improve their work. The cost of such instruction and supervision should be borne by the Government.
 10. There should be one fully trained Co-operative Inspector for each area.
 11. Furnishing available information and guidance to the villages and villagers.
3. ***Gram Seva Sanghas*** -The question may be raised, where is the place for a Gram Seva Sangha, where a panchayat and a Multi-purpose Co-operative Society are together organizing village life. It should not be forgotten that the village panchayat and the Multi-purpose Co-operative Society will be run only by a few elected people whereas all the adults who have elected them will have only a waiting and watching programme unless they are also harnessed to constructive work under the various headings of village reconstruction. The Gram Seva Sanghas will be non-official voluntary bodies which would organize all such work as will help the panchayat and the Multi-purpose Co-operative Society to fulfill their task. Rural development officers and village development officers and others should help in organizing, strengthening and utilizing the Gram Seva Sanghas which should be autonomous bodies with their own constitution, rules and funds. Government may give grants to these Gram Seva Sanghas, but without fettering their autonomy. The Gram Seva Sanghas will

organize bodies of voluntary Workers for village sanitation, for the regulation of village meetings and festivals, for the protection of life and property in the village and for various services on such occasions as the prevalence of epidemics or floods or similar emergencies. In fact for every full-time paid Worker under Government, Panchayat or Multi-purpose Society there will have to be humerous non-official voluntary servants of the village from the village trained for such work by the Gram Seva Sanghas.

NOTE:- We have dealt with Village Panchayats, Multipurpose Co-operative Societies and Gram Seva Sanghas as the three instruments of village organization. But the ultimate aim of village organization is village self-sufficiency in food and clothing and other major needs of village life as also self-reliance and self-dependence as far as possible as the foundation of village life and all this to be achieved on democratic and peaceful lines.

Village Culture: Village culture is a much neglected item. Neither Village Self-Government nor Village self-sufficiency will be real or permanent without the Solid influence of village culture. India has evolved through the centuries a village culture which has fairly stood the test of time. It must be rediscovered, valued and developed. The village woman particularly indicates the inheritance of this culture adding beauty and strength to village life. It has often been said that a village grand-mother can put a university graduate to shame with her practical wisdom and understanding of life and its problems. The following suggestions are made to nourish village culture:

1. Study of village traditions and habits, village institutions and village history.
2. Study of folk songs, folk tales and folk art.
3. Recovery and improvement of artistic handicrafts and village art in general.
4. Organization of *bhajans*, *kirthans*, dramatics, etc., for village education.
5. *Organization of village festivals and important religious occasions to strengthen the unity of village life without distinction of caste and community*-people belonging to different communities should be encouraged to

take part in each other's festivals and religious occasions in a spirit of common happiness.

6. Organization of village libraries, village museums and village study circles.

7. Provision for healthy and open air recreations like games, folk dances, excursions, etc.

NOTE-The reorganization of village culture should be creative and should aim at giving the village a high sense of the values that should govern his life as an individual and as the unit of a new society.

XI. PILOT PLAN

Hitherto we have studied the various aspects of life which should be moulded so to bring about an economy of permanence. We have indicated the lines on which the country has to be organized.

To enable us to achieve this end it is necessary to have a laboratory unit, as it were, and which will also provide a training ground for workers. Therefore a village or a group of villages may be taken as the unit and work on all fronts may be organized in the selected area or region on the lines hitherto considered. For this work associations may be formed in such a way that the member of each association will function as though they were independent republics managing their affairs themselves in the various spheres of village life. These may be termed 'Lok Seva Sanghas' working on a common plan.

Such Sanghas, when in full swing, will form the necessary 'Opposition' to the government in as much as they would indicate to the government the lines on which their administration may move.

In a competitive economy the executive part of government is checked and directed by the opposition; but in an economy, as contemplated by us, based on non-violence and truth, there can be no such opposition. Our effort should be to attract government attention to our method of work and make them imitate our schemes in the measures they undertake. This organization, in the first instance, will be formed in various centres. These will ultimately join together or be united to form the Lok Sevak Sangh. This will be a formidable force and the government cannot ignore it. The policy of the Sangh will therefore have considerable weight in the councils of the nation.

The following is a suggested organization for the Sangh:-

The Cabinet: The Lok Sevak Sangh will be composed of a cabinet of about 9 members including the President and a Secretary. Apart from the President and Secretary, the other members will hold portfolios for various departments and they will be the Sanchalaks of those departments. The departments will be : 1.

Health, 2. Education, 3. The Economic Sector, 4. The Political Sector, 5. Social Sector, 6. Publications.

Sanchalak's Council: The policy in regard to these departments will be settled by the Sanchalaks in Council in the Cabinet. The Executing part of it will be carried out by the Sanchalaks in their own departments with a council of their own. The Sanchalak's Council will be composed of technicians of the different lines of activity in their own department.

For instance the *Health Council* will be made up of a Mantri in charge of Dietetics, another in charge of Child and General welfare, and a third in charge of Sanitation and so on. Similarly, each such department will have its own Council of Mantries over which the Sanchalaks will preside.

Committee of Mantries: These Councils of Mantries will be supported by Technical Committees composed of provincial or regional representatives. For example the Dietetic work Committee will be composed of the Mantri at the centre in charge of dietetics and diatecticians from all over the country belonging to provincial or regional organizations of the Lok Sevak Sangh. The Technical Committee will, therefore, be able to exchange notes on the experience in their own lines from all over the country.

Similar organizations will function in different regions. Thus, the country should be covered with organizations of this type which will be working in an organic unity.

Parliament of Sanchalaks: The Central Lok Sevak Sangh Cabinet will, from time to time, call a Parliament of Sanchalaks from all the sister Provincial or Regional Lok Sevak Sanghs and discuss questions arising out of policy.

In the same way there will be an Assembly of Technicians to exchange their experiences and knowledge gained in their line.

Similar Councils of Mantries and Technical Comittees will function under each of the departments.

Education: Education, for instance, will have pre-basic and basic education imparted by various Talimi Sanghs, and another section will take up Hindustani

Prachar and still another will have Vidyapiths for post-basic training which will impart professional and occupational education on the University level, as well as carry on research. Such Vidyapiths will be responsible for providing recruits and training them to the required level, for absorption in the various phases of the Constructive Programme.

The Vidyapiths themselves will be fed by the Talimi Sanghs.

The Economic Sector: The economic Sector will have under it the departments of Agriculture, Gram Udyog and Multipurpose Societies along with political and propaganda sections.

Agriculture will deal with all matters connected with the occupational as well as the self-sufficiency aspects to this vital industry. The former will be mostly concerned with production for exchange, such as money crops. The latter will feature production for use and will include growing of vegetable and fruits in garden lands.

Animal Husbandry will carry on the work of Cattle Breeding, Sheep Breeding, Goat Rearing and other allied industries such as Seri-Culture and Pisci-culture. In this section will also be included Dairy Production and Distribution. This will again have a bye-product section which will be closely connected with the Primary Needs sub-section of the Economic Sector and deal in horn articles, leather tanning, making of guts, glue etc.

Gram Udyog will, in the first instance, deal with food processing industries in close co-operation with Agriculture Department. Another section of it will deal with consumer goods including primary needs such as clothing, soap making, paper making, pottery, tannery etc.

The Multi-purpose Societies will form the co-ordinating link between the producers and the consumers and perform also the functions of distributors. They will, obtain raw materials and dole them out to the producers collect the finished articles and market them. As far as practicable they will render functional aids rather than give financial help.

The Political Section will be the connecting link between the economic activities of the people and the Government. The Secretary in charge of this section will be the liaison officer between the people and the Government. He will contact the Provincial and Central Government, whenever necessary, to shape the control of Key Industries in the interests of the people's activities and assure proper functioning of controlled National Services.

The other section of this department will be for Propaganda which will disseminate such information as is gathered by the Research Department of the Vidyapith and other facts and figures which may be of use to the people, and work in close touch with the Publication Sector.

Political Sector: The Political Sector will have a department in charge of the organization of Village panchayats and other political bodies and a second section will be detailed out with the duty of keeping in touch with Provincial and Central Governments¹ activities and will function in close co-operation with the liaison officer of the Economy Sector.

Social Sector: The Social Sector will have departments for 1. Communal Unity, 2. Uplift of Harijans and Backward Tribes, 3. Organizing Kisan Labour and other workers, 4. Training of Youths and Volunteers Bodies in national work, 5. Removing of the Disabilities of Women.

Publication : The Publication Department will take up Publications of books which will be of permanent use, both as text books and as reference books, and will also deal with the issue of periodicals, which will keep the various activities in touch with one another and with the rest of the world. In this department the Navajivan Trust may play an important role and the present journal 'Harijan' may become transformed into the 'Lok Sevak' and carry on the message of Gandhiji to all the Constructive Workers.

Conclusion: This may appear an elaborate scheme. But in practice it should be simple of execution. The various Lok Sevak Sanghs will limit their activities to a group of 15 or 20 villages with a population of 25 to 30 thousand people and concentrate in their own sphere the various activities adumbrated above. The experience gained in so running these institutions in full cooperation with the

people will be not only an education in public affairs to the people, but will also form a model to work upon for the Government and prepare the way to realise in full measure the fruits of Swaraj of the proper type for the masses.

PLEDGE FOR MEMBERS OF THE LOK SEVAK SANGH

1. Having read the Constitution and Rules of the Lok Sevak Sangh, I offer to be a Member thereof, and God helping, promise to devote the best part of my energy and talents to the furtherance of its object which is the relief and service of the poor in the villages.
2. To the best of my ability I shall try to live up to the ideals of the Sangh.
3. In the discharge of my duties I shall seek the assistance and co-operation of all those who may be willing to give them, irrespective of differences in politics.
4. I will not take part in politics unless it be as directed or required by the Lok Sevak Sangh. If ordered to seek election to any of the Legislatures, I will live on such amount as is allowed by the Lok Sevak Sangh to its workers and turn in the excess, if any, to the Lok Sevak Sangh.
5. I will always wear only Khadi, made from self-spun yarn, or certified by the All India Spinners' Association and shall prefer the village manufactures to any other. I shall abstain from all alcoholic drinks. I abjure untouchability in any shape or form in my own person and in my family. I believe in inter-communal unity. I respect and hold in regard all religions. I subscribe to the equality of opportunity and status being extended to all irrespective of race, creed or sex.

Signature

Such organised Lok Sevak Sangh will be studded all over, the country leavening people in public affairs. They will form the training ground for statesmen who will have to shoulder the ¹ larger burdens in the national arena.

Until the country is prepared to take up this type of organization and whole heartedly take to a society based on nonviolence and truth there can be no hope of any permanence in our economic, social or political life. The present

type of organization based on competition and centralized industries lands us periodically into terrific upheavals. These have to be avoided if nations are to progress steadily towards a set goal, which will bring peace amongst nations and prosperity to the citizen.

Only in such a state can we expect fair play for the weak, justice to the common man, where might will not be right and i where there will be no premium on deceit and exploitation. Such a society will not have the glamour of ill-gotten gains; neither will there be the attraction of rackets, but it will have a steady upward trend towards a stable culture bringing man out from the jungle bestowing on him the dignity of a human being. This calls for a considerable amount of self-discipline and self- control. We hope these will be forthcoming in the required measure and thus enable us to see the advent of the economy of permanence.